KASHMIR :

Islam, Ideology and Society

Peer Giyasud - Din
Former Minister (J&K)

JK
JAY KAY BOOK HOUSE
Residency Road,
Jammu Tawi-180001

BP
63
I40
K34
G59
1994

© With Author

Published by :
JAY KAY BOOK HOUSE
Residency Road,
Jammu Tawi-180001 (J & K)

No part of this book may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording or by any information storage and retrieval system, except references or reviews, without permission in writing from the Publisher.

Printed in India
1994

Printed by :
Anis Offset Printers, New Delhi – 110002

GL
PL480 SA
8-28-95

To
Khalid, Mansoor, Moeen and Darius Rumi
Staunch Sons and
dauntless Gradnson

BP
63
I42
K34
G59
1994

© With Author

Published by :
JAY KAY BOOK HOUSE
Residency Road,
Jammu Tawi-180001 (J & K)

No part of this book may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording or by any information storage and retrieval system, except references or reviews, without permission in writing from the Publisher.

Printed in India
1994

Printed by :
Anis Offset Printers, New Delhi – 110002

Composed by :
Fine Impressions, New Delhi – 110026

GL
PL480 SA
8-28-95

To
Khalid, Mansoor, Moeen and Darius Rumi
Staunch Sons and
dauntless Gradnson

CONTENTS.

	Chapters.	*Pages*
	Introduction.	vii
1.	Kashmir: Islam,Ideology And Society	1
2.	Identity, Culture And Social Change (Sub-Continent)	19
3.	Kashmir's Backward Cultural Leap	37
4.	Rationalist Theories of Culture And Consciousness in Modern India (with particular references to Kashmir	42
5.	The Indo-Arab Contact And Hindu-Muslim interaction in Indian environment	53
6.	The Fundamentalism: Society And State	61
7.	Woman, Society And State (With particular reference to Kashmir)	69
8.	Neo-Pan Islamism And Central Asian Republics	77
9.	On Sufis And Sufism	96
10.	On Rishi Orders of Kashmir (Nund Rishi And Lalla)	104
11.	Whither Kashmir?	115

INTRODUCTION

Islamic revolution played a very significent role in history of man-kind and tremendously contributed towards civilization and rationalist thought. Rationalism requires a serious consideration, if concept of Islam is to be defined and further developed. This is the central point in Islamic though and other views are trival and subordinate to it. Mis-Kawayh and Ibn Khaldun, greatest luminaries of Arab History believed in naturalism and called for interpretation and explaination of events in term of natural laws governing the Social activity of man.

This Book offers a comprehensive anaylsis of Islam since it came to Kashmir, the current State of Islamization of Kashmir; and fundamentalist trends, reviews the most recent religious, sociological, ethic and socio political concepts the exponents of which are Sir Syyid Ahmed Khan, Iqbal Dr. Ali Shariati, Asghar Ali engineer quite opposite to the outmoded thinking of fundamentalists.

The author raises and discusses a number of topical questions related to Kashmir history, such as how the recent increased activity of religious fundamentalism can be explained, what objectives they are trying to reach, what is the political and ideological effect of their efforts.

Of late Islamic slogans are being actively promoted in Kashmir. A right thinking person has every respect for the religious convictions of people professing Islam or any other religion. The main thing is what aims are pursued by the forces proclaiming various slogans. The banner of Islam may lead to democratization, fraternity and equality. This is borne by history. But it also shows that reaction, too, manipulates with Islamic slogans to incite reactionary, Neo-Conservative and fundamentalist forces, consequently the whole thing hings an actual content of any movement.

This analysis of modern Social processes and movements in the

present day Kashmir helps provide an under-standing of the true meaning of the policy pursued by certain circles of this' particular region not only and among Muslim organisations.

The real Islam admits dynamic values as opposed to static ones. The study of four accepted sources of Islamic low i.e., the Quran, Hadith, IJMA and Qiyas and the controversies which they invoked amply reveals, the supposed rigidy of our recognised schools evolution becomes perfectly clear.

The Imam's, founders of four schools of jurisprudence never claimed finality for their own interpretation. 'Ijtihad in Islam means an idepentdent or original interpretation of problems not precisely covered by the Holy Quran, Holy Hadith and Ijma (IJTIHAD In Islam - Sarwar Hossain, Islam and Modern Age Vol, XVII Nos-1986) (Jamia Nagar). Iqbal calls it the 'principle of movement and dynamism'.

Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan and Iqbal laid very much stress on Idjitihad. Iqbal was first who strongly felt need for this dynamism and wrote his important Book, 'Reconstruction of Religious Thoughts in Islam.' He evolved a concept of reconcilation - 'Islam with contemporary philosophy' and he presented its essence in terms of modern thought.

The fundamentalist trend in Islam is mechanical interpretation of the past and life of inaction and passivity. The world is influx, and changing constantly and the world of to-day is not the world of 6th century. Later generations cannot be bound by what their ancesstors did.

"The only course open to us is to approach modern knowledge with a respectful but independent attitude and to appreciate the teachings of Islam in the light of that knowledge, even though we may be led to differ from those who have gone before us". (Iqbal - Lectures - Lahore 1930 P. 135). Ibn Miskawahy and Ibn Khaldun called for inter-pretation and explanation of events in terms of natural laws governing the social activity of man.

In the sub-continent, 'Sayyid Abu-Ala - Maududi' was first to expound the theory that main purpose of Islam was to establish an Islamic State. He enunciated his formulation in his book 'Khilaifat wa Mulukiyat (Caliphate And kingship). Such a thinking on the conception of State and political theory is alien and in contradistinction

to the thoughts of Iqbal who did not submit to such a zeal to purify Islam of its Moghul phase/or its fusion in Indian environment and cast it in a rigid Arab mould. Even Maulana Mududi was critical to the formation of Pakistan as envisioned by Mr. M.A. Jinnah, founder of Pakistan. Over the year since inception of Pakistan, jamats ideological influence had been greater than the actual support among people.

Jammat Islami in Kashmir with the Collaboration of Congress in 1972 onwards gathered considerable political clout in the State. In post 1970 phase it attracted the generation of Kashmir Youth, especially students, began to rally round it's banner for an Islamic order in the State. Congress being collaborator and National Conference apolitical, because of the ideological inertia and neglect and ill equiped to meet the political-cum-ideological challenge, the Jammat was successful in stepping this vacuum.

Kashmiri Islamic fundamentalists in their publicity and propoganda barrage have been asmuch obsessed with Secularism, democracy, Nationalist Muslims, Muslim Nationalists and even with democratic political parties of Pakistan. Jammats cadre and its various outfits do not make any distinction between Secularism and atheism. In their study circles they preach the Hindus in India have a right to have a constitution based on Hindus Religion. And the Jammat would prefer that the Indian Muslims be treated as low castes under such a Constitution, rather than Indian Hindus to build a polity based on secularism. They would want Muslims to refuse any public services in Indian Union.

"Jama'ats literature conveys the impression that not only Nationalism and Secularism but also Science is incompatible with Islam".

M.S. Agwani (Islamic Fundamentalism in India)

The present phase of the Kashmir's cultural history can be aptly termed, 'A Thawarted Cultural Renna-issance'. In the post feudal autocratic rule in the State Kashmir did not lead to the flowering of a full rennaissance. The neo middle class failled to rise to the occasion, and to provide leadership to a cultural rennaissnace. The post independence period have faced the dilemma of reconciling the elements of modernity and culture. The resurgence of religious

revivalism and Social obscurantism in contemporary Kashmir may be attributed to the thwarted cultural rennaissance. Culture is currently at the centre stage of communalism. It is being invoked and appropirated for communal mobilization - Hindu and Muslim Culture, Communities, both majority and minority are received as homogeneous, despite sharp cultural differences within each community.

The Chapter on Suffis and Sufism and 'order of Rishi's in Kashmir deals with a number of problems relating to the man, nature and Society in terms of contemporary historical science. Man's mind looks into two direction - outward and inward. Mind moulds, masters nature and bends its forces to serve mans purposes. In the process of perdition and permanence mysticism plays an important role.

Sufism or mysticism, no doubt represents the inner or esoteric dimension of Islam and it has its roots in the Quran and the prophetic practice. Byazid Bastami spent most of his time in mystic transports. AL-Ghazali drank deep in the fountain of mysticism and declared intutive knowledge to be the source of certitude.

Sufism is to be interpreted in the hisorical context. It has not remained static in any phase of history, and is linked with the Socio political revolutions of times. In the modern phase attempts to combine man and science in humanistic synethesis have an ambiguous character. This is by the task of arriving at a new Synethisis of man, Science and humanism remains relevant. Science is not all pervasive to solve the mysteries of the mind that lie beyond its reach. In this backdrop social essence of man assumes impartance. The real thing in the spiritual discipline is discipline of lower Soul (nafs) If a man cares about his lower self (nafe) his inner self gets integrated and coherent. If he neglects his lower self, his inner self becomes disturbed and disintegrated" (Kashful - Mahajub P.P. 196-197).

At the end of the classical period, Kashmir gained a new position as the meeting place of traditional Hindu thought and culture and the new Islamic thought and culture. Nund Rishi, Lalladevi, the lady mystic of the 14th century, whose monistic utterances, is the best representative of Kashmirs contribution to the corpus of the poetry of Vedanta and Bhakti in the Indian languages of the many orders, the Rishi, founded in Kashmir by Nund Rishi was the most popular, and

in spiritual outlook and exercises, nearest to the Hindu school of exercises, nearest to do the Hindu school of Bhakti. Both founded their faith upon the principle of Pantheistic monism (advaita, Wahadat-ul-Wajud and both followed similar methods of self-control and purification (Yoga and dhikr). Prof. Jiyalal Kaul's 'Lal Ded', a scholarly study on Kashmiri mysticism and Bhakti movement in particular, suffers from the main weakness, neglecting the Muslim influence on the development of Bhakti-cult. Dr. Mohibbul Hassan's statement that "influence of Islam can also be discerned on Advaita Savism and represented by the teachings of Lalla Ded".

The most prominent feature of the popular improvement in the area was the background of Hindu - Muslim relations, as a result, many of these popular Saint - Singers became the apostles of a synthesis and rapprochement, aided by common points in advaita and Sufism. Although Dr. M. Hassan has maintained that Syeds were averse to 'Rishis'.

The main hurdle in the further historical development of rational, liberal and Sufi thought in Kashmir is mechanical repetition of old and absolutes, quite contrary to the history of Islam - the dynamic force of religious faith, neverthless the entire Kalaidescope remains subject to natural laws, governing the Social activity of man, faith being part of man's nature at best.

In this monograph, attempt has been made to apply the above considerations to certain decisive events and important phenomena in the history of Islam since it came to Kashmir. It is hoped that topics, though self-contained and isolated, will help in estimating the factors vital to the history of an entire epoch.

Peer Giyasud-din
Wazarat Road, Jammu.

Chapter I

KASHMIR : ISLAM, IDEOLOGY AND SOCIETY

I. THE IMAGE OF KASHMIR ON THE EVE OF ISLAM:

The soil of Kashmir, prior to Islam is replete with historical philosophical dialogues, intense debates of international purpor. The Buddhist fourth Council was held in Kashmir (A.D. 78) - where for the first time Buddhism split into two camps, the Hinyana and the Mahayana, Nag-Arjuna, in the council preached the doctrine of 'Sunyata', a concept of absolute nihilism, 'very common with Kashmiri mystics. Kashmir, after the fall of Buddhism became abode of Adi Shankaras philosophy - 'Advaita Vedanta', Adi Shankara was the finest and most sophisticated exponent of this school of indias idealist philosophy. The dillution of Brahamanaism and Buddhism laid basis of doctrine of 'Adivita - 'Savism' Saiva school of philosophy (8 th century A.D.) founded by scholars Somanand, Abhinava Gupta and others. Being a syncritic cult finally assumed the form of 'Bhakti' movement and dominated sub-continent in the 10th century. The synethesis of Saivism and Vishnuism pervaded the Kashmir ethos. It was the main source of moncisticism. The upnishadic thought embodied monistic ideas.

At the end of the classical period, Kashmir gained a new position as the meeting place of traditional Hindu thought and culture and the new Islamic thought and culture. Unlike other mountanious regions of the sub-continent, which were more or less refuge areas or blind alleys of social development, case of Kashmir was unique and distinct at the time of penetration of Islam in the early 14th century.

On the advent of Islam, Kashmir presented a dismal socio-economic picture. Extreme social anarchy, political instability, back breaking heavy dozen of taxation levied on people by oppressive rules were order of the day. (Kashmir, Dr. Sofi) 'History of Kashmir Vol 2 (Fauq).

Sambha-dev was an oppressive, incompetent ruler. Shah Mirza of Swat (Shams ud-Din Shah) assumed the authority of kingship, "a benevolent monarch, a liberal and just and judicious administrator. New ruler abolished oppressive taxes. State levy was fixed one Sixth of produce only. Such progressive measures, gave tremendous economic relief to the common people. In Kashmir, in early phase of Islam, it was its liberationist role - socio-eco and political, that had a tremendous appeal to the people to accept the new creed.

The liberal religious philosophical back-ground provided by 'Advaita-Savism, the essence of which was monasticism - finally culminating in the Bhakti movement proved also a facilitating factor for acceptability of Isalamic monotheims. In this context, Hazrat Bul-bul Shah, an eminent personality of Suhawardhy order, a mystic Sufi played a significant role. Ranjan Shah, got converted to Islam - a Buddhist Tibetian ruler.

"Islam made its way into Kashmir, "says M.A. Stein, "Not by forcible conquest but by gradual conversion, for which the influx of foreign adventures both from the south and central Asia, had prepared the ground." It was spread by Sufi Saints, the tallest was Amir Kabir, great Amir, Sayyid Ali Hamadani - Shah Hamdan. He was an erudite scholar, great orator, simple and spartan in habits. His marvellous two books which he authored are 'Zakrirat-ul-Maluk', and 'Ghiya-tul Makan'. The first book, advocated the idea that a ruler should be impartial "and should not make distinction between believers and non-believers".

II. CRISIS OF ISLAMIC INTELLECTUAL TRADITION AND DISPUTE OVER CONCEPTION OF STATE.

With the spread of Islam in Kashmir, an intense idological debate was raging in the sub continent over the conception of state in the surroundings of dominant Hindu majority. When Islam penetrated India, the early Islamic pride and glory was over. Monarchy and

empires had come into existence, alien to the Islamic concepts of democracy, Musawat and anti-feudal stance. In the socio-economic system of Arabia, Islam introduced new cultural trends - conception of state for the first time. Ibn Khaldoon termed 'Islamic Tribalism' as a pivot of which was 'Sheikh'. With the consolidation of feudalism, the seeds of tribal democracy degenerated. Society got divided into classes. Turkish, Moghul - monarchical and autocratic rule appeared on the world Islamic scene. The early great Islamic Thinker Abu Dhar introduced scientific, secular concept. He enunciated separation of religion from state. Religion only a spiritual relation between man and God.

In the medieval age, during the rule of Delhi Sultanate, the only Book on political theory is the Fatwai-Jhandari', of famous historian, Zia ud-din Barni. But the book is to be subjected to critical examination. The book is most thought challenging work of the Sultanate period.

Kashmiri Sultans - Sultan Shams-ud-din and glorious king Sultan Zain-ul-Abdin known for religious tolerance and evolution of composite culture imbibed their ideological ideas of State from the debate ranging in India in the medieval ages.

Medieval Muslim state in Kashmir was not a theocracy but a monarchy. The head was Muslim, but state was not Islamic. The State did not follow the injunctions of Holy Quran. It did not function under the guidance of the Muslim theologians. The great theoretician of medieval age on state - Zia ud-din Barani, the historian in his Fatwa-I-Jhandari, says, "true religion consists in following in the foot steps of prophet.....But Royal government on the contrary can only be carried only following the policies of 'Khasru-Parvez' and the great emperor's of Iran. "Prophethood is perfection of religion and kingship is the perfection of worldly fortune.

Prof. M. Habib, an authority on medieval history says: "It is true that Muslim kings, mostly of foreign extraction, sat on Indian thrones for some six or seven centuries. But they could only do so because their enthronement of 'Muslims rule' had it been otherwise they could not have lasted for a single generation.

The early enlightened Sultans in Kashmir knew well Arabacized Islamic laws were not wholly applicable to Kashmir. Even during

Moghul period in 1258, the Moghuls destroyed the caliphate, a new era began in Islamic - civilization. In the early phase of rule of Sultans in Kashmir, the theory of basis of kingship was not the 'Shariat' of Islam but the Zawabit or state laws made by the king.

It is not suggested here that the medieval Kashmir state was perfectly secular state. The medieval state, like the medieval states in the sub-continent, did derive part of its political support from a religious source.

In fact the ruling class comprised both Hindu and Muslim nobility. Moreover, as K.M. Ashraf has pointed out, "It is difficult to distinguish the lower classes of Muslims from the low masses of Hindus".

KASHMIR : CONTINUITY AND PROGRESS OF MYSTICISM :

At the end of the classical period, Kashmir gained a new position as the meeting place of traditional Hindu thought and culture and the new Islamic thought and culture. Nund Rishi, Lalladevi, the lady mystic of the 14th century, whose monistic utterances, is the best representative of Kashmirs contribution to the corpus of the poetry of Vedanta and Bhakti in the Indian languages of the many orders, the 'Rishi' order Pounded in kashmir by Nund Rishi was the most popular, and in spiritual outlook and ex-excises, nearest to the Hindu school of Bhakti. Both founded their faith upon the principle of pantheistic monism (Advaita, Wahadat-ul-Wajud and both followed similar methods of sefl-control and purification (Yoga and dhikr), Prof. Jayalal Koul's, 'Lal Ded', a scholarly study on Kashmiri mystician and Bhakti movement in particular, suffers from the main weakness, neglecting the Muslim influence on the development of Bhakti-cult. Dr. Mohibbul Hassan's statement that "influence of Islam can also be discerned on Advaita Saivism as represented by the teachings of Lalla Ded".

The most prominent feature of the popular movement in the area was the background of Hindu-Muslim relations, as a result, many of those popular Saint-singers became the apostles of a synthesis and reapproachment, aided by common points in advaita and Sufism. Although Dr. M. Hassan has maintained that Syeds were averse to 'Rishis'.

The Chistiya order, founded by Kh. Muin-ud-din, was in spiritual

outlook and exercises, nearest to the school of Hindu Bhakti. Both were based upon the principle of pantheistic monism (Advaita, Whadat-ul-Wajud). Both regarded song and music as an effective vehicle to the inducement of mystic states - contemplation and unification.

KASHMIR : THE ALL EMBRACING PHILOSOPHY OF LOVE :

An opinion is still widely current that at the end of medeival glory and beginning of 18th century till 19th century, Kashmiri culture was languishing in decadence and moral and intellectual degaradation. True, there was decadence, but it is as true, that at that period, Kashmir went through a philosophical and religious renaissance, which transcended the local boundaries to galvanise sub-continents thought and stirred it towards human existence and personality.

The thrust of Sufi activities began only towards the end of 14th century. The ideological basis of Sufism unity of being (Wahadat-ul-Wajud) advocated by Ibn Arabi remained intact. Like Buddhism, Sufism in Kashmir, split into two schools of thought orthodox trend, its proponents were Syeds migrated from Persia and central Asia and an indigenous Sufi order known as the Rishi order - preached the all embracing love and encouraged peaceful co-existence. The orthodox trend consorted with kings, feudal lords, nobles, dabbled in politics, perpetuated succession to the saints and their families mysticism degemerated into occultism, passivism, grave worship and saint worship.

Mysticism in Kashmir is unique in being the amalgam of Hindu mysticism, Buddhist influences and Sufism of Islam. Kashmiri Sufi poetry is true reflection of this stream. The Kashmiri mysticism, as already indicated by me were very much influenced by Saivism of Kashmiri, and liberal and general attitudes of Rumi. The theme of their mystic philosophy was that happiness lies in Faqr (poverty). In the houses of worldly men there is nothing but sadness and sorrow. In strict adherence to the main precepts of "Kashj-ul-Mahjub." authored by Imam Ali Hujri, the Rishis of valley were men of prolonged sadness and deep reflection.

The cult of grave worship which had developed in the 14th century

was a negation of the true spirit of Islam. Sheikh Nasir ud-din Chirag of Delhi (Khairul-Majalis edited by Khaliq Nirami, M.U. Aligarh) condemned grave worship but did not disapprove visits to the grave of saints. Ibn-i-Taimiyya, on the issue reached an extreme where few could agree with him, least of all the mystics.

In the dark phases of history it is concommitant and there are precedents that Muslim society drifts away from its pure and simple ways of life and thought, and religion becomes a mere formality, cramped by hair spliting theology and deadened by dogmatic formalism. The pacificism of the early mystic orders degenerates into passivism. Mystic customs and practices lose their spiritual significance and become a license for loose behaviour.

Rishis of Kashmir propagated love, faith, toleration and sympathy which included even the enemy. Higher mysticism is nothing but service of humanity.

With the penetration of Islam in Kashmir, concilation and co-existence between the various cultural groups was not only a moral and intellectual demand but an urgent social necessity. The Muslim Rishis, however rose to the occasion and released syncretic forces between the various cultural groups, communities of Kashmir and helped in the development of a common cultural outlook.

III. KASHMIR : IDELOGICAL CLASH OF TWO TRENDS - A TURNING POINT IN THE SUB CONTINENT :

The intellectual centre mainly related to Sufi thought founded by prince Dara Shukoh turned into a epi-centre of ideological battles, whose shock waves were felt all over the sub-continent. Dara Shukoh was a disciple of Mulla Shah Qadri (Badak-Shani). They echoed the ideas of Tasawwuf of Ibn-Arabi (1165-1240). Mulla Shah rejected the authority (Taqlid). He believed in essential unity of God (Wahedat-al-Wajud, devoid of every attribute, quality and relation). According to this concept there is only one existence and limitations are not realities. Ibn-Arabi was a monist whose opinion was that all forms of religious belief were relatively true. He was protagonist of religion of love, "whatever way loves camels take that is my religion and my faith is love". (Ibn-Arabi, Tarjumrul-Ashwaq, Nicholson, R.A. A literary, history of Arabs (Cambridge 1930, P463).

Mulla Shah, the teacher of Dara was not formalist and ritualist. He stated his views: "O, you who have faith in the Real, do not go near ritual prayer (Namaz) in the state of intoxication (Sakr) and bewilderment (Masti) under limitations, the state of intoxication is higher than the rendering of prayers.....for if the bewilderment is for worldly and profane then the approach to prayer is forbidden, so that prayer may not be polluted and this is a condition of honouring prayer. But if the intoxication is transcedent, then again approach to prayer is forbidden, for in this case it is showing respect to intoxication. When the prayed one and the carpet of prayer disappear, who reads the prayer". (Dara Shukoh, Hasnat-al-Arfin text p-32) Dara Shukoh disseminated his ideas of mysticism through his writings, of which, "Majma-Dl-Bharain (the meeting of two oceans) and Sirr-i-Akbar (the great secret, a translation of the upnishads), are the most prominent. Dara and Mulla Shah, his teacher were condemned as heretics by a certain section of Mullas. Dara's execution gave a serious set back to this school of thought.

The other luminary, an active exponent of this trend was Mahaun Fani, author of great treatize, "Babi-Stani-Mazahib; sort of study of comparative religious and the varieties of religious experience. He was a Kashmiri, and Academy of Kashmir culture has traced his grave at Gurgari Mohall. Fani was a close collaborator of 'Sarmad's philosophical postulates. Sarmad was a free thinker, mystic, interesting personality. He, (Mohain,) Sarmad were pillars of Dara's mystic thought. Sarmad was executed by Aurangzeb. Mulla Shah, Fani were denounced for their ideas.

This mystic liberal school was severly, vigourously countered by Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi whose teachings may be traced back to Ibn-i-Taimiya-Professor of Hambali law at Damascus. He was an exege who attached Greek philosophy.

The idelogue and teacher of Hazzart Mujadid and Sir-Hindi was, Sheikh Yuqub Svrfi (b928 H), an erudite scholar, Muhadis, belonged to Kubravi order. Surfi was a prominent literary and political figure in the history of sub-continent. This school of thought associated with Shuhiyyah led by Sheikh Ala-ud-din Dowhab Samnani, andSheikh Ahmad Sirhindi was its ideological dynamo. They believed in the existences (viz: of God an a-yen) and one Dhat.

Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi (b 1563-4, d 1624-25), fell in line with Ghazalli's philosophical disposition stated in his tract, 'AL Mungidh min al Dhalal', that the philosopphers had plagiarised the science of medicine and astronomy from the books of the prophets, extracted the knowledge of the properities of medicines from their pages, and learnt culture and morals from the Sufis (who were always the followers of prophets).

Sheikh asked, "if every novelty was an innovation and every innovation error, then how could any innovation be regarded as good or proper, for according to the tradition, every innovation, without exception supersedes laws and precepts, and hence every innovation is bad".

(Mohammad Mian, "Ulma-i-Hind ka Shandar Mazi" Vol I, P-174).

He preferred the Naqashbandhi order of mysticism because it upheld meticulous obedience to relgious law (Shariat) as above mystic discipline knowledge. He, repudiated the concept of (Wahadat-ul-Wajud) - pantheistic monism and preached the theory of the unity of attributes; Wahadat-ul-Shudud). Dara Shukoha, Mulla Shah Qadris, Mohsun Fanis produced a reaction of which Sirhindi was the strongest exponent and his ideologue being Sheikh Sarfi, between the death of Sheikh Ahmed in 1625 and that of Aurengzeb in 1707, the total collapse and failure of the two schools was amply demonstrated. Amdist chaos, disorder and disintegration of Moghul empire the third school of Islamic thought flourished. Its main proponent was Shah Walliullah.

Along with Mulla Shah Qadri, Mohsun Fani were denounced, declared heretics by Mullas.

IV. IDEOLOGICAL BASIS OF KASHMIR NATIONAL MOVEMENT AND ISLAM.

In proximity to traditional, hisotrical and cultural development of Kashmir, a movement was born for freedom under the leadership of enlightened Muslim elite - called Muslim Conference in 1931. A section of intellectuals, engrossed in appearances and feel perhaps incapable of deeper probings in the social process, consider the 1931 outburst to be essentially communal in character. In a region with a

predominant muslim population it is only natural that the movement for emancipation was spearheaded by the Kashmiri muslims. It may be noted that the religion of the ruling dynasty happened to be Hinduism and the main educated class in the valley, who were manning all the rungs of administration also happend to be Kashmiri Pandits. In such a historical context the movement appeared to be the outburst of the oppressed muslims against hindu rulers. But this is very superficial view which ignores the basis, social and political processes operating under the surface. It was the error of the muslim communal historians of India who failed to discover the basic motivations behind the hindu sources of inspiration of a Tilak or Savakar, Such notions of history have fed and still feed the irrational and obscurantist two nations theory. This approach takes various garbs and some times its exponents appear to be arrayed against each other in opposite camps of modern historio-graphy. But in its essential character this trend is unified whole and arises out of the historians inability to recognise the limitations of social backwardness and its compulsions in the freedom struggle of a stagnating social organism. The only scientific study of such movements is to analyse their sources, their basic motivations as also the alignment of the various component classes which participate in such struggles. Basing ourselves on such a scientific methodology, the conclusion is inescapable. The 1931 revolt, was not purely a muslim revolt, but an authentic revolt of the people of state against the political, social and economic oppression by the ruling class and their henchmen. The rebellious element were the muslim intelligensia, the trading class and the mass of peasantry who were greening under the yoke of feudal rule. Hence, seen historically, the characteristics of the revolt were essentially neither unhealthy nor communal but sound progressive and national. The limitation imposed by the communal form were important, but the logic of its national content was of far greater significance. This phenomenon has been elaborated by outstanding Soviet academician Prof. R. Ulyanovsky in his provocative article, "Influence of Religion on social thoughts," describes it as "During the early stages of the national liberation movement (prior to the first world war), almost all the anti-imperialistically oriented spokesmen of the middle strata who were more or less associated with the urban petty bourgeoise and the peasantry presented their progressive anti-imperialist and bourgeois democratic ideas in a religious guise (in

India), Tilak's idea on the revival of hinduism, or the pan-Islamism of A.K. Azad and other petty bourgeoise muslim ideologists in India, Iran, the Arab countries, or again, the ideas of "Muslim Nationalism," propagated by the leaders of the Sarekat-e-Islam in Indonesia etc)"

"The Chief criterion in analysing the influence of the religion on the ideology of different social strata should not be religion purse, but what relgious traditions are signalled out for emphasis and what ends these traditions serve the interests of what classes they promote".

Even during the "Muslim Conference period", subsequently got converted to "National Conference", the old relgious shell began to be filled more and more with new content. The nationalist minded intelligensia began to question simple "revival" of the traditions of past and to think about changing these traditions to suit the new conditions. A close study, however, reveals that this nascent movement fought its way to assume a progressive and a secular complexion. The essential content proved too powerful for the form. The form was rendered obsolete and thrown in the dust-bin of history.

The main relgious-cum-educational organisations of the Punjab which supported the Kashmiri movement were not dogmatic and fanatical in outlook. The Anju-man-i-Hamayat-ul-Islam' the 'Majlis Ahrrar' and 'Ulmas of Deobant', 'Jamat-ul-Hind' were militant, anti-British Muslim Nationalist organisations.

The composition of leaders belonged to Aligarh school of thought who provided main political ideological leadership. The leadership was reared and nurtured on the rationalism of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. This school of thought attacked religious bigotry and advocated secular education, and modern values of western culture. According to Dr. Iqbal, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was the first Indian Muslim who felt the need of a fresh orientation of Islam and worked for it. He was champion of Hindu-Muslim unity. He said in one of his lectures that Hindu and Muslims form one nation regardless of their faith. It was logic of history that in 1939, "National Conference', emerged as a solid organisation in the State. In 1944, "the revolutionary character of Islam" aimed at fusing traditional Muslim values with the ideas of the progressive reconstruction of society paved way to the adoption of - 'New Kashmir' - a radical socialist programme. "To day one cannot be true to the spirit of Islam without being a revolutionary", said Ahmed Aroua, one of the

Muslims ideologues.

ANTI SECULAR-TRENDS AND SEARCH FOR NEW PATH :

The search for new path, a path of secularisation-against both Muslim and Hindu communalism, and evolving a radical programme in conformity with the essence of Islam, the patriotic progressive intelligensia of Kashmir, considered that Islam is closely connected with secular and egaliterian concepts about social justice and in the course of anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle, it integrated into nationalism; awakening patriotic sentiments in the people, religious traditions in the conditions prevailing were used as a means of involving the Muslim majority in the State in secular matters.

The right wing conservative forces who parted at the time of this qualitative leap of ideological stance in 1939 and organised "neo-muslim Confernece" openly used Islam as a barrier in the way of deepening and development of socialist orientation i.e. essence of Islam.

The struggle of the Kashmiri people against the Pakistani invaders, the unity of Kashmir masses and the decision of the National Conference of J&K to link the State's destiny with that of India, greatly contributed to the strengthening of the secular sentiment in our country's politics. The decision of accession was taken by Kashmiri people, when sub-continent's politics was swayed by tragedy of partition, and "daggar communalism" in Jammu Division.

The Jammu was overtaken by a nexus between communal politicians, anti-social elements and the administration, making the attack on Kashmir secularism a pincer, attack. At the time of the momentous decision of accession, the Kashmiri secularism was under severe strains.

"Sardar Patel and Acharya Kirplani (then Congress President) were taking a thoroughly communal-chauvnistic position. And naturally it was being fully exploited by the RSS and other communal forces. In the secret session of the AICC (in November 1947, Delhi), Acharya Kriplani had spoken along the following lines:

(1) prepare for war against Pakistan

(2) use the muslim minority in India as hostages for protection of Hindus in Pakistan;

(3) and if Hindus in Pakistan did not get any protection of mass, migration of the muslim minority should be organized;

(4) treat muslim leagures as fifth column",

But in spite of the adverse circumstance, the Kashmiri secularism stood the severest test. The assassination of Gandhi, and the glorious struggle of the people of Kashmir became the main instruments to build a genuinely secular and democratic society in India. The torch of seculrism in Kashmir was illuminating a new path at the difficult turn of history.

Before we critically examine the anatomy of muslim fundamentism and separatism in the State and its philosophy, it is worth while to trace its historical genesis, and growth.

ISLAM-SECULARISM, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM :

To defend the concept of democracy and secularism a massive effort of all secular forces is need of the hour. Progressive ideas cannot be effectively inculcated either by economic struggles, or by political struggles or a combination of both. The struggle on the economic front should be combined with a third - ideological struggle. It is here, where bourgeois organisations, Congress and N.C. falter and fail.

"The massive propaganda campaign is needed on the democratic traditions of Islam as against the bigoted, harmful preachings of reactionary muslim organisations like the Jammat-i-Islami". Of all the religions of world, Islam has the most militant traditions of equality and brotherhood. For quite a few centuries after its birth, Islam produced many of the greatest scientists of the world. All of these scientists were rational and secular minded. It was natural that rational kernal of Islam should touch the heights of secularism. Dr. Iqbal in his thought provoking book, "Reconstruction of religious thoughts in Islam" (page 162, Lahore 1962), commended the Kamalist experiences towards modernity and in particular the basis of new Turkey laid on the principles of secularism, and enlightenment. While appreciating the new value system involved in Turkey, Iqbal expressed his wrath agains

the mechanical repetition of old value system and negation of 'Idjitihood'. Iqbal was against stagnation in Islam.

The emergance of 'Aligarh School of Thought' was not off shoot of Vedas, Bible, gosphel of Moses or Imam Ghazallis or Razis philosophy but product of western rational philosophy and political science. The concept of adult franchise, democracy, federalism, provincial autonomy and fundamental rights are branches of secular philosophy.

Mr. Altaf Gohar, a bitter critic of secular thought in Pakistan had to admit in his book (translations from Quran, P-21, Lahore 1975), that prominent aspects of secularism are, impartial election commission, independent judiciary and executive subordinate to judiciary and third estate, influencing public opinion - press. The fundamentalists have turned their back on the contentions that the growth in national thought had its roots in Islam. Shamelessly they dub such developments as unislamic. They preach subjugation of people to 'Amir', who might have usurped power through fire and sword, or a nominene of an individual.

THE MISINTERPRETATION OF THE CONCEPT OF SECULARISM :

Jammat-Islami attributes fantastic notions to the concept of secularism - irreligious unislamic, denial of God etc to mislead common people. Moulvi Abdul Haq in his dictionary defines secularism a society based on science. The dictionary defines secularism as the dectrine that morality should be based solely on regard to the well being of mankind in the present life. It defines the word 'secular' as pertaining to this world and especially carrying a negative connotation, the exclusion of the religious element in politics, education, etc. The religion is not only concerned with after life, ignoring the fact that religion has always been involved with the ethics of daily life. So it could be said that religion has secular, or contemporaneous relevance, and that secular institutions - in so far as they are concerned with the maintenance of social ethic - have always encroached upon the religious domain. The prime such social institutions is the state, which is always contemporaneous. In the light of this explanation one would have to accept the religious doctrines carry weighty implications for secular social life. Iqbal very much

misquoted and misinterpreted, by 'Jammat-i-Islami' controlled media in Pakistan, believed in seculrism and thought that parochalism and communalism are detrimental to intellectual growth. "They lead to dissipation of individual and collective energies, talent and resources. Eventually this is an adverse effect upon national character".

In a message to the U.S.A. on her national day, late Mr. Jinah, author of two nation theory had made it clear that Pakistan will not be a theorcratic state. In a speech while commenting on the great oxodus he appealed to the Indian Muslims to remain in India itself and be faithfull citizens of that country. Moreover late Jinnah in his speech to the Constituent Assembly said: "You are free. You are free to go to your temples, to your mosque or any other place of worship. After some time Hindus will cease to be Hindus, muslims will not remain muslims, not in the religious sense, but in the political sense. We are all Pakistanis and that it makes clear that Pakistani is equal to Pakistani geography. So for as ones faith is concerned it is none to the government's business, whether anybody is prepared to become 'Ahle-Hadis', or remains Hindu, Christian, Sunni, Shia etc. Late Jinnah also said that there will be Islamic socialism in Pakistan something which the Jammat and Zia's goverment is so scared.

FRESH CHALLENGES TO SECULARISM, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM UNDER THE GUISE OF ISLAM IN KASHMIR.

SECULARISM:

A modern trend regards -

the French Revolution and Napolean's expedition to Eqypt and Arab and Asia as the beginning of political awakening among Arabs. Before passing through these phases the present day concept Arab nationalism arose. The host of Arab thinkers emphasize the importance of common race, language, culture and History as the basis of national solidarity.

Among them prominent who belong to secular school are:

1) Abdul Rehman al-Kwarib (d 1902) disciple of J. ud-din Afghani;

2) Shibhi Shumayyil (1860-1917) - can be rated as the greatest liberal visionary;
3) Lutif al Syyid (1872-1966);
4) Fasyal Ibn Hussan (d 1935) ;
5) Amin-ar-Rhjani;
6) Safi-Al Husri;
7) Munif-al-Bazaz;
8) Zaki Hazin Husaybh

They traced the basis for a secular approach to nationalism in early Arab History. People who give precedence to 'Taqlid' on reason and 'Idjibihad' are ignorant of history of religion of Islam. Even in earlier times when Prophet appointed Mudah Ibn Sabbal as Kadi of Yammen, he instructed him to follow Quran and if he could not obtain guidance from it then to follow tradition (Hadis) and failing that to exercise his own judgement. Sir Syed was secular; he bifurcated the two domain - religion and worldly affairs. Aligarh Muslism school was influenced by secular thought. Adult franchise, autonomy, self-determination, fundamental rights, party system - only secular thought answers these questions. Such terms cannot be found in relgious scriptures, or in the thought of Ghazalli, Razi. People who take pride in the past of Islam and claim the origin of modern terms in Islam, contradict the same contention, when they dub these terms as un-Islamic, and contend that secular thought is product of Islamic rationalism is alien to Islam.

DEMOCRACY :

The confedracy of tribes had a 'Mala', - General Assembly - a tribal council. Mecca a commercial centre - a city state developed into a republician form. it was ruled by (Mala) - term often recurs in the Quran. It was a delegated authority. Islam sowed the seeds of democracy. Full-Fledged development of Democracy came into existence in the 19th century. Islam is against Monarchy, kings, Dictators. A persons saw the prophet coming and was over-whelmed with fear. The prophet said: "Do not fear me, I am not a king". In a famous document formulated by prophet himself (623 AD) categorically stated that all the parties to the government have become ummat-ul-wahida. Maulana Azad explicitly translated

ummat-ul-wahida as one nation; uma = nation, wahida one. It is conclusive argument in defence of composite nationalism.

SOCIALISM :

Ab-Dhar, the first Islamic socialist, interpreted, the ward used in Quran Afv, meaning surplus - be divested from the upper classes. Ibn Hazm in his famous work 'al-Muhalla' advocated that Islam wanted the abolition of poverty and indigence. Islam allows private property but the right to it is not absolute. The society has a claim on the wealth of the rich, even after they have paid Zakat on tax (al-Muhalla, part 6 P156). Hence the concepts of secularism, democracy, socialism are not alien to Islam as proponents of Kashmiri fundamentalists contend.

CONCLUSION :

The decay in the intellectual enlightenment and fundamentalism in certain sections of Kashmiri muslims are the main factors which prove main hurdle in the further historical development of Islamic liberal, sufi and rational thought.

Islam succeeded, because it brought all round development in thought. Dogmatism and fundamentalism were not characteristic of early muslims in Kashmir.

The Quran has a definitely historical outlook, and views the world as a process of changing history.

The idea never comes to the fundamentalists that prophethood may have ended but prophetic mission has never ceased.

The sound approach is to avoid mechinical repetition and adopt a rational attitude where it is necessary to modify and reconstruct laws and institutions which have outlived their utility.

With Toynbee, 'we believe that neither the Zealots attitude of complete rejection nor the Herodian attitude of abject self surrender is likely to win final acceptance of the Muslim world'.

Chapter - I

Bibliography

1- Prof. Mohibul Hassan: Kashmir under Sultans (1959)

2- Indian Institutes of Advanced Studies Simla. India and Contemporary Islam.

3- Khalifa Abdul Hakeem : 'Islam And Communism Institute of Islamic Culture Lahore.

4- Sibet Hussain : Secularism (Urdu) Peoples Publishing House, New Delhi.

5- B.M. Akram : Mooj-Kansur (Urdu) Delhi.

6- M.A. Kapoor: Studies in History and Culutre in Kashmir J&K Publishing House (Jammu)

7- Prof. Ulyanosky : Industrial Revolution and Social Progress in India. People Publishing House, Delhi.

8- M. Siddiq : Development of Islamic State And Society. Institute of Islamic Culture Lahore.

9- Stein: An Introduction to Kalhanas, 'Rajtrangani) (161)

10- Dr. Soofi: 'Kasheer' "

11- M.D. Fauq : History of Kashmir Vol. II.

12- Ashraf K.M.: Life And Conditions of the People of Hindustan. (1970 - 2nd edition; Munshi Ram - Manohar Lal Delhi.

13- Prof. Jia Lal Lal Ded - J&K Academy, Srinagar.

14- Nund Rishi: J&K Academy.

15- Zia ud-Din Barani. Fatwa-I. Jahandari Prof. Mohd. Habib M.U. Aligarh.

16- Ali Ibn - AL - Hujuri : 'The Kashfal-Mahjub' Trans : R.A. Nichol Sons London. 1911

17- Ibn-Arabi - Mohi ud-Din: Sufis of Andulusia (Spain (1165-1240) Allen And Unwin.

18- Prince Dara-Shukoh: 'Hasnat-al Arfin' Text P.32

19- Mohasun Fani: 'Dubistani Muzahib'

20- Mohmad Mian. Ulma - I - Hind Ka-Shandar Mazi (Urdu) Vol : (I) P. 174

21- Altaf Gohar: (Translations from Quran) P. 21 Lahore, 1975.

Chapter II

IDENTITY CULTURE AND SOCIAL CHANGE

(Sub - Continent)

The concept of culture is a complex variegated and many sided phenomenon. It is branded with numerous labels - eastern and Western culture, Hindu and Muslim Culture bourgeois and proletarian culture, Mass culture and cultural revolution, culture and counter culture, spiritual and material culture, etc. etc. That probably explains the bewildering variety of the definition of Culture.

To study main link between religion and civilization in its historical process, the vital factor is social change. It leads to the development of civilization and therefore also to the development of religious onsciousness and to its reformation. The impact of religious framework on civilization does not imply that processes are identical-civilization cannot be identified with the development of religion. In its growth and development, we observe that each religion assimilates and absorbs a certain quantity of social ideas. Thus if, pace of social development and religion vary and are incompatible to each other and social system does not corrospond to the religious system of thought, it blocks the progress of that religion.

A comparison of religious history and Social history is also useful in examining a number of other problems concerning the development of civilization.

Society and civilization are inter-connected and are indissolubly woven together. A continuous link between civilizations is discernable. But there is a divergence of opinion between supporters of theory of so-called 'local' civilizations and those who advocate the theory of a continuity of civilization. Historically civilizations are essentially

socio-cultural complexes. The eminent Western philosophers and Sociologist Arnold Toynbee differs with this view and is proponent of spiritual sphere - being the base of pluralist system of local civilizations. "Civilization, he writes, find themselves in a position fulfil their role if they create a new, higher religion. Toynbee suggests that a renewed religious awareness would be able to rescue it from decay". (Arnoed Toynbee," A Study of History" (Abridgement of volumes VII-X Oxford University press London, 1957, P.111)

Loius Dumant in his interesting work entitled "Homo-Hierarchicus, Gailimad, Paris - 1966 P.15) supports this contention.

As per observation of the above contention, the main question is whether this spiritual character, which undoubtedly has its own specific role in the development of civilization is really the origin of civilization. History is replete with several instances indicating that religious and other factors are not main levers, but are dependent on material conditions, structural elements, without these the existence of human society is inconceivable.

Culture carries within itself a destructive and destabilizing element - present in the local diversity of culture, one of whose manifestations can be seen in the contradictions of ethnic and regional interests, ideas and social institutions.

The apt definition of culture is a kind of social yard stick for assessing the development and application of man's creative forces. "The sphere of culture comprises not only the wealth of knowledge, accumulated by man, an evidence of the development of his reason, but also the development of a whole range of human feelings, and above all love of mankind..... (Man And Culture in the modern world. Lyudmilla Buyera P. 121) History, Society and individual - Theme of 18th World Congress of Philosophy - Brighton - 1988)" Culture is the development of human productive forces, in other words, the development of the richness of human nature as an end in itself". (Marx) Genuine culture is always humanist. In the process of development of culture - the influence of man on culture and culture on man - are closely interconnected.

An intense debate is on among intellectuals and scholars on the issue of Eastern and Western culture and extensive studies have piled

up on this subject in the era of the Scientific and Technological Revolution. This problem is result of variations in the formational stages of historical development at different rates and at different times. In reality Eastern and Western Cultural systems reflect qualitatively different stages of Social development. The resilence and survival of Eastern cultural forms, motivated scholars to the formulations - West and East as two distinct civilizations, a view not based on geographical location but also qualitative differences in the socio-cultural life of these societies, the result of-Socio-economic factors.

The colonization of Asiatic Societies by Western colonizers had not the only aspect of destruction but at the same time the other - also creative. The best example is British rule in India. History does not move backwards - a return to the past medieval culture is sheer impossibility except in phases of historical regressions.

The well known Indian specialist in the sociology of Science, Abdul Rehman, points out that developing countries must not close themselve off their system of traditional values ..... The scientific Revolution requires major social changes. (A. Rehman Trimurti, Science, Technology and Society - A collection of essays, P.P.H. New Delni, 1972 - P 73).

There is a prevalent view among academics and the literature on the subject is vast elucidating the two cultures (both Western and Eastern) as the problem of two mutually exclusive cultures. There is a contrast - the spiritualism of the East and the materialism of the West.

A certain dominant trend of Indian philosophy is Resistant to scientific and social analysis. Arab culture closer to that of the West by virtue of their mutual historical links, but unlike West, is devoid of systematic attitude towards the natural world. A sort of conformity is being evolved between the body of science and religion. Such a situation is similiar to that of the medieval West.

Max Scheler argued that the basic difference between East and West lay in their different attitude towards the use of science and technology.

The three prominent Eastern Sociologists, economists and philosophers - Syed Hassan Nasr - the well known Iranian researcher into Eastern Science, K. Saran and Kotheri (India) evolved a defensive

mechanism - a reconciliatory view but with marked divergencies too "that there exists a specific Eastern science characterized by an attitude to the natural world which preserves the unity of nature and man".

Resolving the present crisis in West is inconceivable without turning to the East. The Eastern civilization is built on different rational structure. The eastern thinker is generally anti-West and expresses a desire to return to the past.

"Eastern metaphysics as a theory of reality incorporated within the system of the tradition of divine revelation. What tradition is meant here?

With regard to Hinduism, where the transperancy of nature is relation to metaphysical realities was accorded considerable importance, and cognition of the natural world in traditional science was linked to its subordination to universal spiritual principles and moral purity of the bearer of knowledge. As for the Islamic tradition, the basis for the hierarchisation of natural science and theology was attributed to the Koran ".

"The East And West Problem' No. Kozlova and V. Fedotora P.326" (Civilization and Historical process P.P. Moscow)

Thus traditionalists advocate subordination of scientific knowledge to religious principles. It is an important event in history that neither China nor Islamic countries could develop science comparable with that in the West. In the east the separation of spiritual world did not take place from natural world. Such a situation thawarted the growth of natural science and secular philosophy.

This extreme opposition of tradition in the East to the scientific rationality leads to a variety of Asia-Centrism, a one sided phenomena like Eruocentrism.

Spiritual cultural values of East are not stagnant and unchangeble. The conseravative and orthodox religius traditions in the East are in developing process and adapt to changing historical conditions. Both progressive and reactionary, obscurantist forces appeal to the ancient spiritual-religious and philosophical systems of East.

Hence the renaissance in the East cannot be only religious renaissance. In the Eastern cultures, besides spiritual aspect there has

always been a struggle for material existence. The East has imbibed the achievements of Western Civilization. "Oh, East is East, and West is West" wrote Kipling. It does not hold much water. East - West - inseparable twain. There is no absolute contradiction between Eastern and Western civilizations as types of social formation with distinctly different cultures.

The entire thought process of history bears testimony to the fact that thread of integrity and continuity runs evently and on occasions unevenly through development of world culture, though Toynbee and Spengler renounce the integrity of world culture, and finally reject the principle of historical continuity.

In the period of decline of spiritual culture in West-European countries, China and India, Arabs appeared on the world scene with their rationalism. It is a misconception to confuse Arab culture with Islamic or Muslim Culture. To quote Nehru (Discovery of India (P.233). "The culture that the Arabs coined with them to distant countries was itself continuously changing and developing. It bore the strong impress of the new ideas of Islam and yet to call it Islamic civilization is confusing and probably incorrect".

It is an established historical fact that the culture of Muslim world was a cosmopolitan culture in the development of which all conquered peoples took part (whether Syrians, Byzantines, Persians, Turkman, Spainiards, Indians, Berbers, Caucasians peoples or Turks) what united this medley of cultures and people into an integral whole was not Islam (as is asserted by some scholars), but also the Arab language and poetry.

With the dawn of Arab culture the East was triumphant. Writes the great Historian and philosopher - Ibn Khaldun of Tunis (1332 - 1406) Arabs are, withal, the quickest of peoples to follow the call to truth and righteousness. For their natures are relatively simple and free from the distorting effect of bad habits and evil ways". (Ibn Khuldon - An Arab Philosophy of History translation by Charles Issawi (London - 1955 P.57).

The oriental renaissance coincided and coalesced at a time when the forces of Islam were overcoming the world. The Arab success was inconceivable without that renaissance. From the beginning of 7th century the period marked the cultural decline of the West European

countries, it also witnessed the great universal cultural movement - a period of development of Arab Culture which flourished in the period from the 8th to 11th century, and development of culture of oriental nations, such as India and China etc.

"The preservation and transmission of Antique traditions through Byzantium and the Arab East countries largely paved the way for the epoch of Renaissance. During the renaissance, when the struggle against feudalism and the church resulted "in the greatest progressive revolution that mankind had so far experienced", a cheerful spirit of free thought, taken over from the Arabs and nourished by the newly discovered Greek philosophy, took root more and more and prepared the way for the materialism of the eighteenth century".

Frederick Engles, 'Dialecties of Nature' - (Progress Publishers, Moscow 1974 P.21)

With the impact and influence of new nations which came within the orbit of Islam, came to be felt and Islam split in various sects and schools of thought. It ceased to be simple religion that it was. Islam could not remain immune from non - Arab influence. In the socio-cultural and political domain the conquered countries had much contribution. In the field of science and philosophy they gave a lead to their conquerers from Arabia.

"In philosophy the influence of India does not seem to have been marked. Both for Philosophy and Science the Arabs looked to Greece and the old Alexandrian School. Plato and more especially, Aristotle exercised a powerful influence on the Arab mind..... Neo-platonism from Alexandaria also influenced the Arab mind. The materialist school of Greek philosophy reached the Arabs and led to the rise of rationalism and materialism". (Jawahar Lal Nehru - the Discovery of India, Oxford University Press, 1981 P.233)

The non-Arabs had their own traditions, customs and cultural pattern. They had their own outlook on life. There was tension, conflict and struggle between Arabs and non-Arabs.

The non-Arabs represented their ancient system of thought, civilizations of Rome and Persia and Arabs represented their simple, structure raised by Islam. The synthesis of Muslim religion and Persian religions gave rise to the concept of Muslim logic, "Ilm-al-Kalam"

The Greek thought had its own impact. It became visible in the form of Gnositicism, Neoplatonism, etc. The evolution took the shape of mysticism or Sufism and idealism alongside with a school of scientific and logical research.

"Ibn Khaldun is harsh on the Arabs and certainly is not correct when he wholly excludes them from any share in the cultural movement of Islam. There is no doubt that the majority of men of learning, in the 'Umayyad' dynasty were 'Mawali' and non-Arabs, but we cannot possibly forget famous Arab Scholars'. (Culture of Islam '- Dr. Afzal Iqbal, Institute of Islamic Culture, 2 Club Road Lahore (Pakistan) p. 141).

To be exact in characterising Arab phase of world culture, an universal wave, it is not correct to label it with Islamic culture. It is a cosmopolitan culture. There are prologged periods of stagnation and Zig-zags and leaps back in the development of culture. Finally culture and society, as well, as a whole, overcomes all of these backward, regressive trends. In historical prospect, retarded development gives way to new, 'Leap forward",

There have been exponents among both the Muslims and Hindus, theorising culture in the sub-continent, overemphasising its religious connotations. Is culture divisible? The concept of culture and the concept of man are indissolubly woven to-gether.

Before we go into the realms of Indian History, it is imperative to debunk the myths of culture built on the premises of religion.

An articulate and eminent expert on Indian Islam, Prof Aziz Ahmed, Professor of Islamic Studies is the U.S.A., in his illustrious work, "studies in Islamic culture in the Indian environment" writes :-

"Islam in the Indian sub-continent developed its local culture under two stresses: It sought identification with the rest of the Muslim world, whilist at the same it had to respond to the assimilative challenges of Hindu culture. It is a process, synthesis and clash of two antagonistic trends - reaction and progressive - the interplay of the forces of attraction and repulsion between the two cultures and fusion, culminating in composite culture".

The above quotation is contradiction in terms. It lays emphasis on both aspects - attraction and repulsion. However, the essence of

composite culture has been conceded in a muffled and hesitant manner. The aspect of repulsion was overstressed by British Authors on Indian History), that lead to the Mr Jinnaha's two nation theory, the edifice being two cultures - Muslim and Hindu. Such conception and elucidation of culture both by Hindus and Muslims breeds communalism, tendency of a community to separate its culture from that of others by insulating it from them.

Many wars took place between Muslim sultans and Hindu Kings in the medieval period. In historical books, these wars have been given religious colour - 'Jihad'.

"The fact that in these battles there were Hindus and Muslims among the troops of both sides is, however, concealed by such histories and novels. For instance, in the army of Prithvi Raj there was a detachment of Afghans. There were Muslim Soldiers in Shivajis Army..... Likewise in the army of Mughal emperors, Rajput Commanders and Soldiers used to fight. There were Muslim Soldiers in the army of the Bhamani Sultans. What is more, Alberuni, who is considered to be the most trustworthy and impartial among the travellers who visited India, tells us that even in the army of Mohammed Ghazni there were Hindu soliders and Commanders" (D.D. Kosambi - 'An introduction to the study of Indian History Page 367). These soldiers were bound to their kings by the cords of loyalty and not religion".

During this period, there were battles among Muslim Kings and Hindu Kings that took irrespective of religion of rulers.

There is also an illusion. It is not a historical fact that all Muslims during medieval period belonged to the ruling class. Muslims converts from Hinduism were extremely poor. They were not partners in the grandeur of kings and their splendour. According to Dr. Mubarak Ali, one of the historians of eminence in Pakistan, "Rajput princes were socially closer to the Moghul emperors than Muslims of Indian origin". The Myths about the Moghul period "Article by Mohd. Siddiqi" Times of India (14th and 15th July, 1986)

"According to Morelands calculations, even during the period of Moghuls, 70 percent of the high positions of power were in the hands of well born Muslims. During the period of Turkish rulers, the percentage might have been higher than this". The problem of Hindu

Muslim conflicts - S.R. Bhat' Op Cit, P 25).

The actual position about conversions is also highly exaggerated. The conversions among higher castes were insignificant. It is a historical reality, most Muslim kings were not eager about conversions. The element of force was exceptional, had there been use of force on mass scale, "after 500 years of Muslim rule, Muslims even in North India would not have remained minority.

The genesis of attack from religious obscurantists is based on this misconceived concept of culture, that they consider vedic culture to be the last word in the process of growth of Indian civilization, and hence, foreigners the term coined by them, cannot be the harbingers of Indian culture. This is hinted regarding the Arabs and Turks, who came to India with Islam as their religion, will have to be recognised as Indians. But there is vast substantial historical evidence to suggest that the speakers of India-Aryan languages or the Aryans came to the sub-continent from outside. The whole international scholarship thinks that the Aryans came to India from outside (A.L. Basham, The wonder that was India," London, 1954, pp 28-30)

The vital force, that shook the Indian society was arrival of Arabs in A.D. 712. It made the immense contribution to Indian culture. In his celebrated Book, "Science and Society in Ancient India", Dr. Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya explains all this with evidences. He gives a detailed account of how the Hindu society of those days had become pathological and how ritualism and superstitution of the Brahmin priestly class were opposed to scientific progress.

"The Arabs were great preservers and propagators of knowledge. They preserved the Greek philosophy and science for Europe and enlightened the west by carrying astronomy, mathematics and medicine fron India, and printing press, paper and gun-powder from China ..... Whatever may have been their method, the Muslims did not come to this land like the Sakas, the Kushans and the Huns, the Abhiras and Gurjaras, without a sense of social organisation on rules of conduct. They had a philosophy of life and were in need of none, had their own laws..... and were socially governed by liberal principle of equality, with rights in the estates and property for both their male and female children. They could not therefore be absorbed like the tribes of before for they meant to live their life and stay in this country. They,

however, could not help building a new assimilated culture in the land of their adoption. Nor were they able either to ward off the total current which was soaking them through and through".

(B.S. Udadhaya - Feeders of Indian culture P.P. House P.87, 88)

The basic features of Islamic Social change were un-Islamic in a rigid, dogmatic sense. Sufism, spurning hidebound Islamic beliefs all over world, penetrated to India. Chaitanya, Ramananda, Kabir, Dadu, Yayasi, Nanak were all preaching against the organised religions and faith trounced philosophy in the rural area. The Muslim saints made direct rapport with the Hindu masses. The rise of Sufism was a strong reaction against Muslim fundamentalism, fanaticism. The Indian Santas accorded a rousing reception to their movement.

At Bhagdad, the world centre of learning, of Abbassite Empire in A.D. 838, Arabs established, 'Bit-ul-Hakim', Centre for Indian studies and translating the wisdom of India and naturally Indians were gaining as much with the contact as tje Arabas were benefiting from it. The Indian works of this centre, which for the first time through Arabs found their way to Europe after the conquest of constantinople - by Turks.

Islam had its impact on the Hindu ceremonies, social habits, thoughts and ideals, language and literatures, science and arts.

"In the sphere of science this country received a fair deal from the Muslims, mainly the Arabs, had cultivated science much more during the century of their advent than the Hindus. The latter realized this truth and were prompted to profit by the scientific investigations of the former. Muslims gave them promulgating new methods and adding to what they had received from them, numerous technical terms of astronomy relating to longitude and latitutde, new mode of reckoning astronomical signs, the calendar (Zeech) and a whole hords of sciences covered by the word 'TAJIKI' (derived from persian (Taiji' meaning Arabic, a compendium compiled in Tajikistan in Persain, translated with this title in Sanskrit by Nilakantha in 1357. Maharaja Jaisingh of Jaipur (1743-1800) who built observatory at Jaipur, Delhi, Mathura, Benaras and Ujjain got the AL-Majisti translated from the Arabic into Sanskrit ..... The art of geomomancy, represented by the Ramalarahasy by Bhaybhanjanasarnam, was borrowed from Persia". 'Feeders of

Indian culture - Dr Bhagwat Saran Upadhaya opp. cit. PP. 92-93.

The peculiarity of Islam was that it did not exercise ideological direction to the development of Arts and Architecture. Hence marvellous contribution of Islam to Art and Architecture. It was result of independent growth. In the domain of fine arts, music and dancing, architecture and painting found great favour with the Indian world of Art etc. The Indian music was darling of Sufi Saints. Sufis came from Bhagdad and Persia.

"The great Sanskrit compendium on music Sangita - Ratanakara was composed in 1238 during the rule of Sultan Feiozshah. Muslims introduced Kawali, and Tarana and created several ragas like Zulfi Saparda and Sazgiri. The contribution in the domain of language and literature was no less. The first Hindi poet in the sub-continent is Amir Khusro. Prior to him we do not know of a Hindu or a Hindi poet. The Urdu language, a splendid contribution not an altogether independent language, strictly linguistically or philologically. It is bound up with Hindi Khariboii. The greatest scientist in Sanskrit Grammer Panini, albeit a Brahman, was a Yusuf - Zai Pathan and Citizen of Iran, not of India.

As already elaborated in these pages, this is the infra-structure of composite culture - neither Hindu nor Muslim, historically evolved through centuries in the sub-continent. The initiative in this cultural eclecticism was taken by as Prof. Aziz Ahmed quotes in his book :-

"Some Hindu communities like the Kayasthas, the Khatris, the Pandits of Kashmir, and the Amils of Sindh adopted Muslim culture, cultivated Muslim language and literature, participated in Muslim administration efficiently, and even moulded their domestic life to the Muslim way of living, a social development not unlike the westernization of the elite of other civilizations of to-day" (Mirza Mohd. Hasan Qatal, 'Haft Tamasha, B.M. or M.S. 467, fo. 54a. P 105)

"AL-Birunis", a famous central Asian Mathematician, Astrologer and Historian, Author of Indian History came to India at the time of Mohammad Ghazni. His contribution lies in his unprejudiced study of Hindu Religion which did not appear to him to be mere idel-worship, as it did to most muslims during the first five hundred years of Muslim Rule in India between Mohmmed of Ghazna and Akbar. He regarded the essence of Hindu religion as a form of monotheism and the Hindu

idol-worship as merely the manifestation of the dark and the ignorant passions of the crowd. He was the first to introduce the study of "Bhagwat Gita", to the Muslim World, and the first Muslim to study the 'puranas' and to translate ('Patanjali' and 'Samkhya' into the Muslim language. He was critical of the caste system, but observant of the escape possible from it in the sublime path of Vedantic mysticism". (AL-Biruni (Sachan, 1, 7, 1.7 - 25, 27 Page 115)

The concept of Hindusim cannot be substitute for Indian culture. "According to Nehru, the supporters of 'Hindutva' were not wholly wrong in equating Hindu culture with Indian culture and eulogizing it. After the Aryan invasion for hundred of years Hindu Social forms, beliefs and ideals largely determined the substantive content of Indian culture. 'If all the people of India had been convereted to Islam or Christianity, her cultural heritage could still had remained to inspire them.....

Within Hinduism, as a faith, is vague, amorphous, many sided, all things to all men..... In its present form, and even in the past, it embraces many beliefs and practices, often opposed to and contridicting each other." (The Discovery of India - Nehru)

Urvashi Dhamija writes : Further, it tended to be forgotten in the sub-continental expanse that India represented, there were many other religious groups with origins in the ancient past.

While some believed that Islam and Christianity went back to the Afghan wars and the Mughal periods from the 12th century onwards and the British invasion of India in the 17th and 18th century, the fact of matter was that the efforts of the earliest disciples of Christ & the trade contacts with the Arab world led to the establishment of churches and Mosques." Islam came as a religion to India several centuries before it came as a political force &. Whether conversion was to Islam or Christanity or the Parsee or Jewish religion, individuals "never ceased to be Indian inspite of change of faith"

Paratha Chatterji has observed : "From Nehru's recounting of Indias past, it would appear that there were two great movements in the nations history, consisting of a long cycle and a short cycle.

"The long cycle begins with the earliest known, historical period, that of the Indus Valley Civilisation, and ends with the first Turko-Afghan invasions of the eleventh century. The second cycle

occurs in the period of the Islamic empires, reaching its peak during the reign of the Mughal' Emperor Akbar" (National thought and the colonial world) (Nehru Against Hindutva Theory-I. P.A.)

The history of the various fields of human knowlege, too, goes far beyond the limits of any one people. The very designation of such branches of mathematics as "arithmetic" and "algebra" indicates the extensive participation of Arabs in Shaping these disciplines. Yet we know how much the Arabs themselves owe in this particular field to the ancient Hellenes and Indians. C.E.M Jodd, contemporary English Political theorist defines India's national skill and cultural ethos thus :-

"Whatever the region, it is a fact that India's special gift to mankind has been the ability and willingness of Indians to effect a synthesis of many different elements both of thought and peoples, to create, infact, unity of diversity".

India's contribution to the world culture is vast and tremendous. It is total history and total culture. And not divisible into Hindu and Muslim compartments. There should be a rational approach to the idea of 'total history', total culture. There can be no divisions of history, whether horizantal or vertical, have no meaning. The continum of culture, is to be underlined - the integrated contributions of races forming parts of a whole and thus cuts as-under the chords of chauvnism which hold the decaying and decomposed ancestral humans. India has given more than any individual nation, but likewise has in her turn received more than any one. Since while taking it has been single and the givers have been several. A worker in the field of culture has to bring to the light a new intellectual horizon and to give the other side of the picture which until now has been pandering merely to the taste of Chauvinist grandeur.

The sphere of culture in a broad sense of word encompasses philosophy, politics and the economy. Politics strongly influences culture. The intrusion of politics into culture is a double edged sword. It can influence culture in either ways - healthy or unhealthy.

Man today is a helpless victim of mass culture. It offers unbridled consumerism, resurgence of religious revivalism, social obscurantism and the cult of violence as the only means of resolving pressing problems.

There should be strong link between politics and culture (That

existed during the freedom movement). Today the Indian middle class represents 'a hybrid culture of decadent feudalism of the East and resurgent consumerism and naked hedonism of the post industrial West'.

The twin aspects of culture - degeneration and regeneration, depend on the health of society, on its priorities, perceptions and commitments. With the massive development of a national and internati-onal communication and exposures of Indians to the manifestation of culture, the stark reality remains that value of culture cannot become truly the part of mass assimilation, while ingnorance, obscurantism and caste prejudices continue to befog our perception of the reality.

"Nature is indivisible.....Human culture as a whole is also indivisible, no national culture would be able to exist in Isolation". 'Mshvenieradze - (Political reality and Political consciousness. P. 303 PP Moscow)

In Indian practice culture like politics is identified with religious beliefs, and relationship of politics with culture is horrible distortion. The main lever of political mobilization and evolution of socio-political organisations was based on religious identities. Communitarian complexions swayed the concept of recognition in politics. The Simla deputation, separate electorate, Lucknow pact, and Khilafat movement bear ample testimony to these historical facts.

According to Prof. K.N. Pannikar in his illuminating, lecture, "culture And consciousness in modern India", he says :-

"What happened in India was not an integration of cultural and political struggles, but an intrusion of culture politics; Instead of Politics transforming backward culture, politics was vitiated by cultural intrusion. We find this tendency developing, even if unintended from B.G. Tilaks Ganapati festival and Gandhiji's Ram Rajya, to assume monstrous proportions in the religion based politics of the Muslim League and Hindu Mahasabha during the national Movement, in Independent India it has reached an alarming state."

For as Marx said, "the tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living".

The communal approach to culture finds its expression in writings

and statements which credulously glorify ancient Indian society and culture. "obviously by the attempt to locate the Aryan Home in India and return to the vedas reminds one of the Nazi attempt to glorify the Aryans for spreading Racism". (Indefence of Ancient India", by R.S. Sharma page 30 P.P. House New Delhi).

Let the democratic forces wake up, from slumber and not under estimate the appeal that India is a Hindu state. The logic is simple to mass : The spiritual centre of the Muslims is Mecca and for chirstians it is Rome; but for Hindus political, cultural and religious centre is India.

To base culture on religion is not merely contribution of Mr. Jinnah to Indian political thought. Prior to Mr. Jinnah, two decades back Mr. V.D. Savarkar wrote 'Hindutva' initiating the concept of two nation theory in India.

In spreading the two nation theory based on two cul'ure Mr. Jinnah made much play, but it would be unctuous only to blame him." The contents of letter written in 1925 by Lala Lajpat Rai to C.R. Dass, in which the former had said that Muslim History, Muslim law and loyalty of the finest and most patriotic Mussalmans to their spiritual injunctions seemed to make Hindu Muslim unity fairly impractical proposition.... Mr. Jinnah taking the cue from this letter, now said, "It is a dream that Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality" for "they belong to different religions, philosophies, social customs, literatures, they neither intermarry nor interdine.... their aspects on life and of life are different. One can pick holes in this formulation, there are exaggerations and distortions of historic truth implicit in it". (Was India's partition unavoidable"? Prof. Hiren Mukerjee, Ex. M.P. Published by Manisha, Calcutta, p.52). V.D. Savarkar in 1920 gave vent for the first time to two nation theory by writing a pamphelet 'Hindutva', followed by Lala Lajpat Rai's letter in 1925 and Jinnah gave it a political shape in 1940 at Lahore session of Muslim League.

To carve out a state on the basis of Two-Nation Theory based on two cultures - Hindu and Muslim was by no means a concept true to the real facts of India's life but it found its appeal on the concept of long fostered tradition that the Islamic way of life had a unique and separate identity.

With the materialization of this objective culminating into formation of Pakistan, in 1947 it was challanged by Kashmiri people, led by National Conference leaders. After more than two decades, this myth was further demolished in East-Pakistan, with the emergence of Bangladesh state, separate from Pakistan. On the problem of Kashmir, late Jawaharlal Nehru, said, in 1951:-

"..... It is not Kashmir, therefore, but rather much deeper conflict that comes in the way of friendly relations between India and Pakistan and this situation is grave one. We cannot give up the basic ideal (secularism) which we have held so long and on which the whole conception of our state is founded".

There can be a dialogue with Hindu and Musiim religious leaders on question of secularism, religion and culture. Let us fight religious fundmentalists. No intermix of religion and politics. Respect for all religions to be imbibed. Fundamentalism is misuse of culture and religion and is not genuine religiousity. National integration is to be based on composite culture and not the so-called Hindu culture' and Muslim Culture'.

Without secularism and culture there can be no democracy. Culture is a vital element in the creation of modern nation state. In our country we are passing through thwarted cultural renaissance.

The question of identity, of culture and social change are burning questions of to-day. The cultural crisis in Punjab and Kashmir and role of communication is to be studied. Search for cultural identity and the need of recognition of distinct, separate cultural entity are to be studied in the backdrop of the concept of unity in diversity :-In the recognition that cultural diversity does exist, but need not be contiguous with political separateness. The example of formation of Pakistan and historical revelations in Europe signify that artificial means of creating an identity (for example) - through religion or ideology are not sustainable.

We should have clear perspective about 'cultural heritage'. We inherit and heritage we renounce. "Thus, to inherit does not mean merely to accept all the inherited values .....In the process of cultural inheritance some values are therefore preserved and utilised partially or completely, while other values are partially altered, reconsidered or completely discarded.

Chapter II

Bibliography

1- Arnold Toynbee : 'A study of History'. Abridge - of volumes VII-X Oxford University Press London, 1957 P.III.

2- Lyudmilla Buyna: 'Man And Culture in the Modern World' - Theme of 18th World Congress of Philosophy - Brighton - 1988.

3- A. Rehman Trimurti: 'Science, Technology And Society P.73. P.P. H. New Delhi.

4- Kozlova and Fedetra: 'Civilization and Historical Process, P.P. Moscow.

5- Jawahar Lal Nehru: Discovery of India Oxford University Press P.233 1971

6- Ibn Khuldon: 'An Arab Philosphy of History, translation by Charles Issawi (London 1955. P.57)

7- F. Englis: Dialectics of Nature, (Progress Publishers. Moscow, 1974, P.21.)

8- Dr. Afzal Iqbal : 'Culture of Islam', Institute of Islamic culture, 2 club Road Lahore. Pakistan, Page.141.

9- Prof. Aziz Ahmed: Studies in Islamic culture in the Indian environment. Oxford

10.- D.D. Kosambi: An introduction to the study of Indian History P. 367.

11.- Mohd. Siddiq: The Myth about the Moghul Period: Article, Times of India 14th and 15th

July, 1986.)

12- S.R. Bhat: The Problem of Hindu-Muslim conflict P.25.

13- A.L. Bashm: 'The wonder that was India London, 1954, PP. 28, 30.

14- B.S. Upadhaya: 'Feeders of Indian Culture P.P. House, Delhi P.P 87, 88.

15- Mirza Hassan Qatal: 'Haft Tamasha, B,M. or H.S 467, to 54a P. 105).

16- AL-Biruni: Sachan, 1, 7, 1.7-25-27 P.115

17- Mshvenieradze: "Political Reality And Political Consciousness" P.303. P.P. Moscow.

18- R.S. Sharma: In Defence of Ancient India P.30, P.P. House, New Delhi.

19- Prof. Hiren Mukerjee Ex. MP: Was Indias partition Unavoidable? Manisha Kalcutta P-52.

20- B.F. Skenner: Designing A Culture, Philosophy-P. 533.

21- Studies in History And Islamic Culture: Prof. S.M. Usuf (Professor Arabic Adam Publishers and Distributers.

Chapter III

KASHMIR'S BACKWARD CULTURE LEAP

History of Culture Comprises a series of progressions and regressions, protracted and zig-zag paths - There are advances and backward leaps. As history and philosophy is inter-connected these leaps in Social philosophy are termed 'accidents. "The Social environment of any group of people is the product of a complex series of events in which accident sometimes plays a prominent role." B.F. Skinner (Designing a culture, Philosophy - Basic issues, page 533) cultrology is complex phenomena : The influence of culture upon man is a result of development - the inflence of man on culture and culture on man - are closely inter-connected. Human inspiration is born not only of man's own creative capacity, not only of the influence of the surrounding world but also of knowledge and an appreciation of the cultural values created by other people in other ages.

Culture expresses the degree to which man is in control of his relations with the natural world and society, and also his control over himself. It is a man who creates culture, hence it is profoundely human in character. Genuine culture is always humanist. While men are mertal, culture and its products are by their nature universal.

Social changes lead to the development of religious consciousness and its reformation. When society has powerful religious traditory, these trends find their way into religious consciousness and come into opposition to religious orthodoxy. With the help of religion, the privileged classes consolidate their position." It is not difficult for a careful observer of the socio political scene in the Muslim world to understand that it is not religion which inspired the politicians, but the politics of ruling class, (vested interests), asserts "-Asghar Ali Engineer - 'Resurgent Islam' on an increasing scale in Afro-Asian countries,

religion is sought to be used as a militant weapon for fighting privileged groups or to defend certain privileges. The religion is a double edged sword. It can be utilised both for human and inhuman purposes.

The recent political militant explosion, migration of minority and intolerance towards other political views and even murders of political activists and non-muslims presents a false image of Islam prevalent in the Kashmir - fanatacism, hatred and disorder killing pro Indians, nalionalists etc. blowing up schools, colleges, public institutions. It is V.C. Naipauls vision of Islam and Muslims (Among the believers : An Islamic Journey, 1981) : 'Rage was what I saw .... Muslims crazed by their confused faith'

These images stem partly from the failure of understanding of Islam among none Muslims and partly from the failure of Muslims to explain themselves. The results are obvious : The hatred feeds on hatred.

Muslims have to reflect and to attempt to re-discover Islam. There is need of feasibility of a Dialogue between Hinduism and Islam. It should be purposeful. Islam does not assume nor claims a new position for itself as a religion. It came to complete the old, old religion: The gospel of obedience to Divine commands - which was revealed to the blessed race of the Prophets from Adam to Jesus. This is then, the way to unprejudiced tolerance of other faiths. It consists in being forbearing and willing to reconcile oneself to the fact that the followers of every religion have a right to believe and act on its precepts. A sympathetic attitude to understand the position of others and bear with it, is required for it, which will open the gates of true understanding and patience - the only way to live and let live', in a world containing numerous cultures, nationality and religions.

Tolerance is a quality born out of noble-mindedness, charity and patience, and needs intellectual breadth and spiritual security. A man who lacks faith in his own religion cannot but be disinterested about the religions of others. Only a man who is assured of his own spiritual position can easily find grounds of sympathy and appreciation in other faiths. Now let us see what type of tolerance does Islam Preach to its all followers:-

"As for Islam's attitude towards other religioms it is determined by explicit injunctions contained in the Holy Quran'. Islam assures the

fundamental rights and complete freedom of all religions to exist side by side unequivocally in these words.

"There is no compulsion in religion
"Say: O disbelivers!
I worship not that which ye worship;
Nor worship ye that which I worship-
And I shall not worship that which ye worship.
Unto you your religion, and unto me my religion"

("feasibility of Dialogue" Mohiud-din Ahmad: Islam and the Modern Age May 1976)"

Islam thus takes a realistic attitude of the existing order of things, and tells its followers that a number of creeds, dogmas, rituals and modes of worship will continue to exist in the world. It was, thus, futile to make any attempt to enforce one religion on the whole of mankind either by conversion or through assimilation of different religions.

This policy of co-existence, barring ofcourse, a few instances of highhandedness by some overzealous ruler or conqueror, continued to flourish in every country of Muslim domination.

Hindu and Muslim communalist/fundamentalists have now adopted more aggressive communalist attitude, results of which can be seen in recent events occured in Kashmir, Bihar, U.P. etc. etc. and other places. Hindu communalists even malign the Holy Quran, the sacred book of Muslims and Kashmir Pandit migrants have developed a distorted vision of Islam.

The United Nations Organisation (UNO) had adopted the universal declaration of human rights in 1948. According to it the Human Rights include the right of life, liberty, equality before law, freedom of Religion and information.

But Holy Quran about 1400 years ago had laid down universal fundamental human Rights and they are not subject to any alteration or mofification The Holy Quran gurantees these rights to all human beings irrespective of their religion, nationality, social status or sex etc.

The first and foremost basic human right is the right to life, and the respect and security of life.

The Holy Quran has laid down : "Whosoever kills a human being

for (any reason) other than man slaughter or creating disturbances in the Earth, it shall be if he has killed/all mankind". Quran (6-5-32) The Quran commands: Do not kill a soul which God has made sacred except through the due process of law" Quran 'It is to be noted that in Quran the word 'NAFS' (soul) has been used in general terms without any distinction. So it cannot be argued that such security has been given only to believers (Muslims) The fact is that the said injuctions apply to all human beings irrespective of their religion or other things. The Quran Says," Whosoever saves a life it is as though he had saved the life of all mankind." Quran (6-5-32).

The word 'Islam' is Arabic. Its root word connotes peace:

"Islam made its way into Kashmir by gradual conversion, being quite peacefuly adopted by the great majority during the latter half of the 14th centry, without the accompaniment of catestrophic upheavels; the ground had been long prepared by the influx of foreign adventurers in royal service". (D.D. Kosambi) 'origin of Feudalism in Kashmir' ' page 115. History and Society; problems of interpretation).

In the continuity of culture and its enrichment through historical process, dialectics does not exclude stagnation, regression, in social development, instances of the temporary suppression of important and progressive Social relations and institutions by reactionary forces.

After serving the cause of civilization for centuries in Kashmir, Islam came under shadow. Its spirit was throttled by fundamentalism and fanaticism in recent decades. The right thinking Muslims should not cease their efforts to free it from its shackles." "Let us release this bright spirit of joy, compassion, fraternity, tolerance and reasonableness, and modern man will be the happier for its presence" (A modern approach to Islam P. 112 A.A.A. Fyzee)"

The great poet Mohd Iqbal and eminent Islamic thinker pays respectful tribute to 'Ram Chanderji' in his famous poem 'Ram' in which he says:

India is proud on the
existance of Ram
The people of vision think
him the Imam (priest)
It is the miracle of this
lamp of guidance

That the evening in India
gives the light of
dawn to the world
(Bang-e-Dira) Kuliyat-Iqbal pp-177

Such are our noble secular traditions. But now some elements are working against these, noble traditions. Now they are using Quran, the Holy book as their weapon. By presenting the verses of Quran in a distorted form and interpreting them in a wrong way they are trying to inflame the communal tension. So one and all of us should be vigilant against these ominous forces and expose them and show the people what the Holy Quran actually preaches.

Chapter IV

RATIONALIST THEORIES OF CULTURE AND CONSCIOUSNESS IN MODERN INDIA

(WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO KASHMIR).

With the advent of British rule, the Indian Society was not confronted with Christian religion but encountered the influence of European Culture and some specific features of Secularization in Hinduism. It was a confrontation with a Secularized culture not conflict with religion. It posed a threat to Hinduism from below; from material sphere rather than from above--philosophical religious thought, ideas. It proved its superiority by means of Cannon and Cheap english Textiles.

"From the Indian natives, reluctantly and sparingly educated at Calcutta, under English Superintendence, a fresh Class is springing up, endowed with European Science, steam has brought India into regular and rapid communication with Europe, has connected its chief ports with those of the whole South-Eastern ocean and has revindicated it from the isolated position which was the prime law of its stegnation..... The Railway system will therefore, become in India, truly the fore-runner of modern Industry resulting from Railway System, will dissolve the hereditary division of labour, upon which rest the Indian castes, those divisive impendiments to Indian progress and Indians Power" (The future Results of British Rule in India "Marx)

The European culture introduced Free press for the first time in Indian Society .. "A Powerful agent of reconstruction". A new class of

intelligentisia arose... Ram Mohan Roy, Dayanand Sarswati, Ram Krishana --'Parm-Hans, Swami Vivekananda, Tilak, and Auribindo Ghosh all spoke on behalf of Vedantism. These thinkers represent the progressive line in the development of Vedantic Philosophy.

The Vedanta is world view of the economically dominant classes of our Society. This description of the Vedanta is one sided. It is a historical fact that within Vedantism itself an unending struggle continues, now between the progressive and conservative, democratic and anti-democratic (Idealism-materalism) trends.

The British impect gave birth to two trends --- westernization and Sanskritization. Sanskritization represented the obscurantist and orthodox trend and westernization symbolized the **Orthodox Way of Life.** In the post independence period it is Social and Political reactionaries that have been exploiting our old heritage under the garb of Sanskritization for various obscruantist and revivalist purposes very harmful to our country's all round progress.

"Sanskritization is extremely opposite to Westernization. It is not the spreading of the Western way of life of the higher castes among the lower ones, an aggressive reaction of Hindu orthodoxy.....just as there is a strong element of Hindu Fundamentalism in the Westernization of Hinduism, so there is a strong element of concealed Westernization in Sanskritization". 'Hinduism And the specific of India's Socio-political Development-Dmitir Furman Page 49 (Historical traditions of East and West in Modern political culture) Nauka Publishers Moscow.).

Keeping in view the strict Hindu Rigidity, Sanskritization is not permissible, it is considered a Crime, Westernization is extremely opposed by Hindu fundamentalist organizations. But in the recent historical process, Westernization and Sanskritization are inalienably linked up with each other and even pass on into one another. Swami Vivekananda in the West Propogated Hinduism and in India was a 'Zealous protagonist of reformation And Westernization. While neo--Hinduism travels West, the aggressively Hindu Movement Arya Samaj etc which emerged in the 1870 in Punjab, intiated a vigorous campaign for Shuddhi--reconversion of apostages to Hinduism and preaching the orthodox way to life-Sanskritization among lower castes and tribals....It is a reality that religion is a great force in Indian Society.

There is an inter-mingling of religious history and Culture. There is Communitarian consciousness, religious communitarian beliefs are very much a part of cultural existence. Both Hindu and Muslim fundamentalists, communalists make no distinction between religious beliefs and practices and cultural practices. Religion is being identified with culture.

The Poweful impact of India's Ancient History continous to over shadow the Social life, thought and Pcychology of our people. During Colonial period Social Reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Sayyid Ahmed Khan utilized the appeal of ancient India's past and traditions of Islam for progressive Social, rational and Reformist aims. They nourished what was living in the past traditions and scrapped what was dead. By nourshing what was living, they desired to extend its potential towards the right direction and to see the ultimate culmination of Past glory in present progress. National pride is an emotional sentiment. It can be harnessed for the achievement of present day position and constructive tasks. The question is, what is genuine national priae and what is communal, Chauvinism which is a poison that has to be rejected. Progressive thought springs from the depths of our hisotrical past. There is a great deal to hold sacred. But guarding heritage does not at all mean to be totally stagnant, conservative and hide-bound by that heritage. Guarding means to purify it, discarding that is reactionary and Anti-People.

It is apt to quote Prof. K.N. Pannikar (Centre for Historical studies, Jawahar Lal Nehru University New Delhi), "To my mind, the solutions is not in making religion private or attempting to keep religion away from politics, *but constantly attempting to temper the religious beliefs of the People with rationality".* (Interview with Historican----" why this intensification of communal politics--11 '**Peoples-Demo-cracy Oct 7, 1990).**

To analyse our immediate post--Colonial period--the rational criterion was applied to religion - and the style adopted by Ram Mohan Roy and Sayyid Ahmed Khan was to bring religion within the orbit of rationalist approach. "The earlry expression of the critique was in "Tuhafat-Ul-Muwahiddin,", a text composed by Ram Mohan Roy in 1802. Based on oriental knowledge it is a general and speculative treatise on the origin and Character of religion and religious system, in

which Ram Mohan came very close to an atheist stand. Not that he denied the existence of God and the other world, but he accepted them only with reservation for pragmatic reasons. The reservation was that neither the existence of God nor of the other world could be proved. Yet he conceded them as necessary for the proper conduct of man in Society.

"Mankind are to be excused (he said) in admitting and teaching the doctrine of the existence of the Soul and the next world for the sake of the Welfare of the people as they simply for fear of punishment in the next world ..... refrain from the Commission of Evildeeds" Quote-'Culture and consciousness in Modern India) P.6-7 (K.N. Paunikar) Delhi (P. Publishing House) from such a rationalist approach unleashed a formidable movement for reform, rejection of dogma and helped in evolving a progressive, dynamic view point on all issues contronting the Society then existing--whether the issues were Social religious, educational political, Ram Mohan Roy in his early years adopted an attitude of extreme radicalism, was devastating in his scathing Criticism of out-moded and obsolete practices, rituals and archaic religious precepts. But with the passage of time the fire of youth in him smouldered making such a defiant stance difficult to sustain it and in latter years of his life he made a serious departure from his previous views, held in the beginning. He left his sucessors-among them A.K. Shay Kumar Dutt-A fire brand-a prominent jounalist and publicist, who has some semilarity with a great rationalist (Diderot 'One of the luminaries of 'Age of Reason' in France. A.K. Dutt-Says K.N. Pannikar "is perhaps the staunchest rationalist of Colonial India, *who raised the Critique of religion to the level of public Debate. His Motto was" Universals nature is our Scripture. Pure rationalism is our preceptor* (Tattwa-bodhini Patrika, Saka 1773, Phalgom. After a considerable lapse of time Sayyid Ahmed Khan, who was quick to feel the pulse of Muslim Masses after the collapse of Moghal Empire and witness to the post mutiny phase of agony, dejection and despair which the erestwhile Muslim ruling Class was undergoing with anguish and pain-Sayyid Ahmed Khan took similar view as that of other reformers among Hindus who tried to bring about reform in their own community. Sayyid Ahmed Khan drew his inspiration from two Quranic concepts--Ilem-I-Danish' --" Knowledge, reason'. He extended laws of nature (Nutural Phenomena) to social domain -- religiousity etc. He was

dubbed as 'Naturalist by Muslim Ulemas, and intelligentsia

Sayyid Ahmed Khan made 'Ilem-I-Denish' the main denominator and principal in Social and religious matters. An aminent authority on Sayyid Ahmed Khan, All Ashraf Writes in his Article 'Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan and the Tradition of Rationalism in Islam' (Islam and the Modern Age Vol-I No-3-August 1972:-

Sayyid Ahmed Khan believed:-

"I came to the conclusion that the only means of obtaining knowledge, Conviction of faith is reason..... But if knowledge or conviction of faith is not based on reason then their achievements in any age of period of time are impossible".

His interpretition of Islam was full of reconstruction and in conformity with the age. To this interpretation of Islam and-Ahadis (Traditions of prophet), he stressed primacy of reason. He evolved concept of "Ilem-I-Kalam" (Scholasticism) ---befitting the times. The conservative Muslim orthodoxy opposed his views and dismissed his opinion as theologically unsound.

The process and evolution of rationalism during this collonial period gave rise to Humanism not only other--Wordly, Idealistic but materialistic chief exponent was Swami 'Vivekananda'. He tried to evolve an active rationship between spirituality and materialism. To quote prof. K.M. Pannikar, "In Other words, use religion to fight what religion itself has brought into existence". (Culture And consciousness in Modern India" Page 13... P.PH. New Delhi).

"Ram Mohan Roy, for instance, considered different religion as national embodiments of One Universal theism Whereas Sayyid Ahmed Khan, underlined the Univeralist Idea by suggesting that all Prophets had the same 'DIN'. Ram Krishna who is reported to have practised all religious, emphasized their Commonality by employing the analogy of water which assumes the shape of the vessel in to which it is poured".

From the universalism of all religions and the need of the hour during colonial period for national consolidation against Colonialism, arose a trend - stress on Particularism-one religion is superior to other resulting in divisiveness, communalism and parochialism a-pernieous trend indeed. To lay bare the genesis of Modern rationalist encounter and effiorescense in Kashmir, there is today much rethinking and

introspection, and groping towards conflicting interpretations. All divergent, rival, interests have only one Court of appeal and history has become that appelate Court. The process of conflicting identities will proceed, debate will go on and get intensified rather than do away. Even if the present phase of debased passions and their violent expression would hopefully pass, being parhaps only one of these passing and fleeting phases of Socio-Cultural backward leape in which we have learnt, by our action to be-little our bright and rich past and the greatness of our rationalist out-look in which is such a basic feature of medieval and Modern history of Kashmir did not fully take into account, the real Perceptions of the intrusion of Islam in Kashmir history, but rather took either the old fashioned, well worn missionary or the apologist's view of Islam, for its basis. This is unfortunate. There is an aggressive unfortunate emerging trend-present fundamentalist full of Chauvnism

In the Medieval Kashmir, confulence of two cultures--Hindu and Muslim was based on syncretic cult, Vadanta-cum-Sufism and reflected on rationalist trend, emanating from the well know intellectual centre' Pari-Mahal' situated on the bank of Dal lake in Srinagar. Its dynamos, were prince Dara Shikouh and his teacher, a Kashmiri-Mulla-Shah Qadri (Badak Shaini). Mullah Shah rejected the authority (Taqlid). He believed in essential unity of God (Wahadat-ul-Wajid) deviod of every attribute, quality or relation. Mulla Shah Qadri, the Teacher of Dara Shikouh was not formalist and ritualist. Dara-Shikouh and his teacher Mullah Shah Qadri were condemned as heritics by reactionary and obscurantist Mullas.

This was a serious encounter in the genesis of the Medieval rationalist trend in Kashmir. The first instance when in medieval phase of Kashmir's ideological history, traditional, hair splitting, cramped, theological Mullaism faced a serious challanges.

The other luminary an active exponent of this trend was 'Mahasun Fani. Author of great treatise 'Dabi stans-Mazahib' a sort of comparative study of Asian-Religions and the varieties of religious experiences. He was a Kashmiri, and Academy of Kashmir culture has traced his grave at Gurgari Mohalla, Fani was a close collaaborater of (Sarmad's Philosophical postulales. Mohasin and Sarmed were pillers of Dara's thought process. On the ascent of 'Aurangzab to the imperial

throne of India, Mullah Shah and Fani were denounced for their ideas by obsevrantist reactionary Mullas.

Immedeiately after first world War, in 1918-20 Punjab initiated a new Muslim Sectarian movement--the Ahmediya-Lahori and Qdyani movment. The followers of the sect named after its founder, Mirza Ghulam Mohd (1839-1908) preached a doctrine aimed at reconciling Islam. Christianity and Hindusism. The followers of this movement set out to adopt Islam to the New Socio-economic and political setting. In their interpretations of Quran, they evolved reason as the source and criterion of Knowledge. According to their tenets rationalism is a trend, accordingly to which only those doctrine of belief are acceptable which are compatible with logic and arguments based on reason. This act was the harbinger of political consciousness in Kashmir and professed their sympathy, with the movement for freedom. Their powerful organ 'Al-Fa-Zal, through its columns, supported the movement. The pioneer of this movement in Kashmir was colourful personality Mulvi Abdullah, a prominent, Social and political Luminary, Lawyer and peasent by Social Origin. Ideologically movement got a Severe set-back having reactionary political stance. All the same it created a stir in Kashmir. Established hegemony over Muslim conference for a while and gave a severe setback to the age long stagnation and deminance of Mullas over the people's mind and ethos. In his late years Mulvi Abdullah turned to Bahaism. Bahaism a religious-political movement emerged in the Middle of the 19th Century in Iraq, orginated from Bebism a movement pregnant with democratic and revolitionary Ideas.

The composition of mostly genuine and healthy movement in Kashmir-Political, rationalist and Reformist mainly comprised those who have been educated at Aligarh. It will not be out of context here to give a critical appraisal of the role of the Aligarh School of thought'. Muslim intellectuals were reared by and large on the ideological content as propogated by Sayyid Ahmed Khan Journal, 'Social-Reformer' This School of thought attacked religious bigotry and advocated Secular education and modern values of Western Culture. According to Dr. Iqbal, Sayyid Ahmed Khan was the first Indian Muslim who felt the need of a fresh orientation of Islam and worked for it.

The Maulvis or higher Ulmas, feudal vested interests, and big merchants opposed this movement led by Muslim conference--Mulvi Yousif Shah and others. The Kashmiri Mullas, aliens from Central Asia-fake and real Sayyida etc. rural priests in collaboration with feudal elements opposed modern trends in culture, education, Social Reforms and even opposed Sayyid Ahmed Khan's and Dr Iqbal's concept of reconstruction and reorientation of Islam. In Kashmir as in other parts of India, traders, civil servants and some of the minor land-lords owe their interest in Social affairs to Sayyid Ahmed Khan's ideological influence. A generation of Muslim intelligentsia in Kashmir was reared in Aligarh tradition. Many of them later turned their back on religious sectarianism, opposed moribund Mullaism and adopted an Indian national view point. The nationalist minded intelligentia imbibed with rationalist spirit began to question simple 'revival' of the traditions of past and to think about changing these traditions to suit the new conditions. In 1937-38, a group of enlightened, politically active and mostly intellectual Kashmiri Brahmine came nearer to Muslim progressive 'intelligentsia. They succeeded in realising the progressive potentistilities in herent in the situation and could 'discern the 'New' -- being the need of hour. The pioneers of this fresh stream was PtP. N. Bazaz---a prolific writer, publicist and jornalist. To disseminate new rational and radical ideas-he founded the News paper.... 'Hamdard' in Collaboration with Sheikh Mohd Abdullah. He organised 'Free thinkers Association' alongwith Ghulam Mohd Sadiq and Miss Mahmuda Ahmed Ali Shah. He turned Royist, propogated Scientific rationalist Ideas. He was a good enlightened thinker but a bad politician. He wrote many books on Kashmir--its philosophy culture and politics. His latest publication is a critique of 'Mahabarata' a commendable work-enfolding and differentiating rational from irrational.

It will be apt to note here that the ideological inspriation which permeated our Socio-Politic-Cultural movement during this period (1931-1938) was that of great Kashmiri 'Iqbal', the period following. It would not be incorrect to designate it, like his predecessor, Nehru who through his intellectual acumen, put the stamp of his ideas on the politico Social scene from 1938 onwards.

The factors responsible for serious set-back to this intellectual enlightnment, and regression in further continuation and development

of past glorious leqacy, is the bungling of successive Governments at Centre and at (State level) that facilitated the rise of fundamentalist and armed insurgency in the State.

The rationlist in Kashmir of today is under sleqe. The revivalist and fundamentalist-elements, take lead in precitipating the Crises, there is an urgent need to curb fundamentalist and revivalist tendencies on the ideological plane. Besides thoroughly exposing the nefarious game and involvement of foreign interested groups and sections in making Kashmir the target of destabilization, the historical moment calls for an all out compaign against religious bigotry of all hues and shades, for eliminating the present vitiated atmosphere in Kashmir and restoring rational, Secular politics. A rational and critical analysis is to be made to trace the origin and historical roots of the Kashmir problems.

Crunebaum, author of 'Medieval Islam' and 'Classical Islam' appreciates the methodology of Imam-Razi--a great Muslim Philosopher, who had understood how "Scientific truth was something he could only move towards, Never master", that intellectual life only perfects itself in the long run, and the achievement of the individual only gains its meaning in the unforseeble context of future knowledge "Razi had envisaged investigatory thought as a process of overtaking and being overtaken" Grunebaum Classical Islam. Page No. 134.

Firdous Anwar in his illuminating article "Islamic-philosophy and Islam in India" (Party life' February 1991 Monthly Journal C.P.I) Writes:

"Elements present in the thought or earlier Generations were re-interpreted with reference to the existing ecological requirements and were made workable for the contemporary social order. But this provides no justification for the world-wide imposition of such theories today because they may or may not be relevant to the present condition. Fanatic insistence on their implement action has proved more than once that they are outdated and impracticable. Over and above the people are in total isolation from its ecological surroundings. The undesired effect of religion upon the people of our country today decisively proves the irrelevance of this theory to the existing Social political and economic conditions. The apologists should come out with such explanations which may be acceptable if not to the

philosophical thought, at least to rational thought".

The main hurdle in the further historical development of rational, liberal and Sufi thought in Kashmir is mechanical repetition of old and absolute, quite contrary to the history of Islam - the dynamic force of religious faith, nevertheless the entire Kalaideoscope remains subject to natural laws, governing the Social acitivity of man, faith being part of mans nature at its best.

Ibn Miskewyia and Ibn-Khaldun - great luminaries and rationalists of Islamic world called for interpretation and explanation of events in terms of natural laws governing the Social activity of man. The only way - a rational one to study history on a par with the scientific study of the physical phenomana by the Scientist.

Chapter IV

Bibliography.

1- Marx: 'The Future Results of British Rule in India'

2- Dmitir Furman: (Historical Traditions of East and West in Modern Political Culture), (Nanku Publishers, Mascow).

3- Peoples Democracy, Oct., 7. 1990. Interview with Historian 'Why this intensification of communal Politics'

4- Raja Ram Mohan Roy : Thafat - Ul-Muwh-iddin. 1802.

5- Prof. K.N. Pannikar: '(Culture And Consciousness in Modern India) P.6-7, Delhi P. Publishing House.

6- Ali Ashraf: Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan and the Tradition of Nationalism in Islam) Islam and Modern Age Vol - 3 August, 1972.

7- Mahasun Fani : 'Dabistani - Muzahib'

8- Fudous Anwar: Islami Philosophy And Islam in India (Party Life, Monthly Journal C.P.I.

9- Islam and Ahmadiasm - Lucknow, 1974.

Chapter V

THE INDO-ARAB CONTACT AND HINDU MUSLIM INTERACTION IN INDIAN ENVIRONMENT

There is a prevalent thinking among Indian Elite that Islam came into contact with the Hindu thought and culture on the eve of Muslim conquest of India. There was an ideological battle and relgious clash between the two religions. British authors of Indian History have very much contributed in this direction. It is not a historical fact but total distortion of History and prejudiced approach with a clear intent-cleavage of two communities.

"It is an established--historical fact that the culture of the Muslim world was a Cosmopolitan culture in the development of which all conquered peoples took part (whether Syrains, Byzantines, Persians, Turkman, Spanirds, India, Berbers, caucasian peoples, of Turks) what united this medley of cultures and people into an integral whole was not Islam (as asserted by some academics), but also the Arab language". "The Cultural-Historic Code of Civilization" Stainslav Zavadsky Cand. SC. Philos) p. 144. (History, Society and individual Moscow 1988).

The development of artistic culture in an adaptive type civilization is capacity to absorb and assimilate the new artistic systems, diverse social dispositions, their integration. The fact that Arabs (Arab Peninsula) had no strong artistic traditions of its own to start with but with the passage of time it could evolve to make such integration possible --the emergence latter of a homogenous Mileu--the product of economic, cultural and artistic exchanges between the peoples of

various ethinicity of nationalities.

In the 15th century there was a serious set back to this process of development. Its Social and cultural integrity started to crumble. A sense of national identity became the dominant force of cultures and liberation movements. To combat these trends--Islamic fundamentalism was born. Islam became more dogmatic and tried to exert a greater influence on the life and Society and culture. From an adaptative dynamic civilization, Arabic Muslim civilization was gradually turning a conservative and segragationist one. The European striding forth, developing which had learned from the Arabs, came to the fore and out stripped the latter in its dynamism.

The appearance of mystical trends in Islam, Vanvkamer and DOZY trace from the Indian Vedantism. The most prominent feature of the popular movement (Ganga-Jamuni culture or composite culture) was the background of Hindu and Muslim relations. Among the prominent exponents in Islamic mysticism (Sufism) were Alghazalli (1059-1111) Mohd-ud-Din Ibn-Arabi and Sufi Aliyar (The central Asian Philosophers and others).

In a thought provoking book "New Indology" by Walter Rubben (German indologist) P.N. Chopra in his articles 'Indo-Arab' contact, says that there is also evidence of the presence of Hindu Philosophers in Western Asia during the time of socrates who discussed matephysicial problems with them. Ashoka encourged this exchange or visits and sent emissaries to Syria, Egypt, Macedan. Al-Bruni (1000-A.D.) corroborates Ashoka's claim that in former time Iraq, Mesal and the country upto the frontiers of Syria were under Buddhist influence and the Indian Countries. The extreme empiricism of the Buddhists made a deep impression on Muslim Scholars, theologians, Philisophers and Jurists and we came across references to the Indian School of thought in their discussion of Epistemology and theory of knowledge. Also it may be pointed out that some traits of the Hindu revival such as the increasintg emphasis on monotheism, on emotional worships, and self surrender, indifference to rituals to be the outcome of Islamic Influence.

According to Al-burni, the famous Central Asain Scholar of the 13th Century, "in former times, Khursan, Persia, Iraq, Mosal, the country upto frontier of Syria were all Buddhistic. It is not surprising

that all these Social cultural and religious currents deeply influence each other.

Having spread to such far of and diverse countries, Islam came face to face with Hindu speculation through Gaznavi and Persia. There are serious misconception by both the communities regarding the 500 years of Muslim rule in India during medieval period. Muslims feel that this period was an age of great splendour and Hindu bigots say that Indians were slaves all through this period deprived of freedom.

Why such view are prevalent among people?. It needs an historical study and investigation. As already mentioned "Hindus did not have a redoubt able sense of history or an historical perspective.... Not even a single historian of the stature of Thyucidices of ancient Greece or Tacitus of Rome took birth in this country. In the wide range of Sanskrit literature, there is not a single work that can be called history. Almost, some works of Court poets, like Kalhana's Rajtrangni, Bilhar's, Vikna-Madeva curita and Bhana-Bhatha's Harsha Carete are available, in which the poets have written about their king or the Royal Dynesty 'Id' (S.R. Bhat, The problem of Hindu Muslim conflict. Page 20 Navakarnatha).

In the historical sense, Muslims were not far behind and had historical perspective. There were some historians, too, like Barani, Badauni, Farista, Abdul Fazal etc. But these works are not comprehensive and suffer from communal prejudice and exaggeration.

Hence for doing this job, British historian stepped in. They made an invaluable contribution in this sphere. But they had a motivation, while writing Indian History to perpetuate their rule and domination, pursue the Policy of divide and rule and give communal colour to history. All world over histories are divided into Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern ages, British Historian called Mill, divided our history into Hindu-age. 'Muslim age, British age, and gave the first two periods communal colour. It meant to creat rift between Hindus and Muslims. Our present and post independence generations were fed on these concocted myths and distortions, even Indian historians followed British historians, to their ruses and examples. Even to-day our text books continue to be polluted by these defects.

The new generations of students have been influnced by this poison. Although some Historians like Romila Thapar. R.S. Sharma,

Bipen Chandra etc. are trying to extricate historical writing from this communal poison and tangle.

"To cite the restrained language of Judith-Brown, the British tended to break up the Indian Population in terms of community and analysed Indian society as a plural one of different peoples who needed special outlet in political life". (Judith M. Brown,Gandhi, Prisoner of Hope, Oxford University Press; Delhi 1990 Page 374).

The Muslim Rule in India was not a theocracy but monarchy. Its theoritician was Zia-un-Din Barani, who wrote a famous treatize,' Fatawai Jhandari' during the sultanate period. The Muslim rulers in India often acted on non-religious grounds and, like all rulers every where, were primarly interested in the maintenance of their political power.

As a noted authority of Islam, Asghar Ali Engineer asserts, no generalizations are possible about Hindu-Muslim relations, in our history. There was both Hindu-Muslim conflict and emity between these communities, just as there was hostility between factions and groups within the commuities.

"All such conficts were limited in their impact and were not, in contrast to today, organised as confrontations between Hindu and Muslims, with repercussions, encouraged in many distant parts of the Country as well. Babar himself patronized Hindu Temples and individuals, and in Ayodhya itself he had a revenue free grant of a large piece of land to Hindu ascetic. Musherul Hassain cites as well the dominent features of Co-operation between the Hindu and Muslim Elits as well as phases in the 17th and 18th Centuries. With the coming of the British regional inbalance in economic and Social development resulted in the class who gained most from British rule being drawn predominately from among the Hindus, and 'Amiya-Bagchi' paper shows clearly the economic basis of communalism ..... the British, as Aditya Mukerjee traces were not slow to take advantage of the resulting increase in communal rioting" (Anatomy of a confrontation.. Sarvpalli Gopal - -, Book Extract -- 'The book review' Vol. XV. Number 2, page 13. March-April 1991. Chankypuri-New Delhi(11002).

The imperialist view-point stressed and emphasised, "the animosities of centuries as always smouldering beneath the surface". (Francies Young-Husband in 1930 quoted in C.Pandey,. The

Construction of communalism in Colonial North India, Oxford University press, Delhi, 1990 page 44).

The policy makers of Raj Put the cult of Bhakti, propounded by Kabir, Nanak, Chesti, and Tulsi Dass that there is no distinction between *'Rama* and *Rahim'* on defensive and retreat by introdcing the forceful cult and effective weapen -- Economic communalism. The traditional 'composite culture' could not stand this onslaught. The result was partition and the formation of Pakistan on the groundless basis that Hindu and Mulims formed two seperate nations. Prior to Muslims leagues two nation theory advocated by Mr Jinnah in 1940; It was enunciated by a prominent Hindu Revivalist - Dr. Savarkar. He wrote a pamphlet under the title 'Hindutwa' Dr. Savarker pleaded in the pamphlet that Hindus are a nation predated by several years the Muslim league concept of Hindu and Muslims being two nations.

Much before Muslim league and Hindu Mahasabha came into existance as organised political parties preached..... separatism and partition, the British in keeping their divide and rule policy evolved the formula of division of the country. Sir Henery Elliot -- a British administrator and compiler of the works of Muslim Historian regarding our Medieval History -- had given vent to the doctrine that Hindus and Muslims belong to two different nationalities. It was a ruse of Britishers.

Did not this theory get debunked in the domain of 'Army? It has been found that Hindu and Muslims can live together without conflict where there is no fear of economic and Social domination i.e. in the Army". Lord Wavel to Sir 'A.Clow Transfer of Power, volume, 8, document 414, 7-Oct, 1946.

A page of history of Kashmir is a shining example, the spread of Islam Eschewing any forcible conversion and virtually without striking a blow. A great debate and dialogue took place between Shahi Hamdan a prominent Central Islamic Scholar and Kashmir Brahmin. At the outset the coversions were through persuation, friendly discussions and argumentation. In Kashmir the role of Islam was emanipatory from corruption of priests and Liberationist in terms of politics and state. The local ruler-Sambha-dev was callous, corrupt and people were groaning under heavy taxes, Corves and feudal exploitation.

King Zinul-Abi-din, a liberal king popularly called 'Budshah' was

a symbal of Hindu-Muslim tolerance, communal amity and justice. He established an institution of benevolent monarchy but not a theocracy. The highest echelons and rungs of administration were manned and run by Kashmiri Brahmins.

"Islam made its way into Kashmir by gradual conversion, being quite peacefully adopted by the great majority during the latter half of the 14th century, without the accompaniment of catastrophic up--heavals. The ground had been prepared by the influx of foreign adventurers in royal service. The traditional Brahmin Official continued in office; Sanskrit remained in use for administration, and is found even on Mohammedan grave Stone "Stein Vol I, page 131).

(Origine of Fendalism in Kashmir page No.126).

D.D. Kosambi on History Society; problems of interpretation Deptt. of History, U. Bombay Publication Edited A.J. Syed M...

Medieval History of Kashmir is not untained from fundamentalist over tones and violent outbursts. A number of fleeing incursions of fanatic religious bigots from outside did disturb and create ripples in Sombre, Serens and peaceful atmosphere but did not pose a serious threat to the communal amity.

A Bhakti-movement was born from the preachings of 'Nund-Reshi' and Lal-Ded called Rishi order.

The message conveyed was of peace and evolution of Syncretic cult-Adavita Savism and 'Wahadat-ul-Wajud' - an indigenous Sufi thought.

Modern Kashmir witnessed continuation of this humanism in the birth of nationalist movement, Hindu-Muslim unity demonstrated on the eve of partition, that father of Nation, 'Mahtma Gandhi Saw a ray of Hope in Kashmir in 1947 holocaust.

Alas :- The peace and historical harmony got disturbed through bunglings of Central Government and successive State Governments in Kashmir. For the first time fundamentalist, Idelogy surfaced in the organisational expression of Jamat' leading to Islamic fundamentalism, religious bigotry, narrow regionalism based on religion, Secession an extrem and serious Kashmir problem. The Kashmir problem is not only retention of a piece of a territory, but as late Jawahat Lal Nehru said in 1951; ..... it is not Kashmir, therefore, but rather much deeper conflict

that comes in the way of friendly relations between India and Pakistan and the situation is a grave one. We cannot give up the basic 'ideal Secularism which we have held so long on which the whole conception of our state is founded.

Chapter - V

Bibliography.

1- Stainslav-Zavadsky: "The cultural Historic Code of Civilization" P. 144 History Society And Individual Moscow 1988)

2- P.N. Chopra. Article Indo-Arab Contact '(New Indology, by Walter Rubin (German Indologist)

3- S.R. Bhat : The problems of Hindu-Muslim Conflict: Page 20 (Nava Karnatha Bangalore)

4- Jadith M. Brown: 'Gandhi, Prisoner of Hope (Oxford University Press, Delhi 1990 page-374)

5- Ziz-Ud-Din Barani: "Fatawai Jahandarie (Prof. M. Habib M.U. Aligarh)

6- Sarvapalli Gopal: (Anatomy of confrontation) Book Extract. 'The Book Review Vol. XV No.2, P.13 March - April, New Delhi.

7- C. Pandy: The construction of communalism in colonial North India, (Oxford University Press Delhi page. 44 (1990)

8- Dr. Saravkar: Hindutva.

9- Lord Wavel: Transfer of Power Vol. 9 document 414, 7 Oct., 1946.

10. D.D. Kasambi. Origins of Fedualism in Kashmir Page. 126 'On History, Society, problems of interpretation (Department History Bombay University Publication)

Chapter VI

The Fundamentalism : Society and State

A five years study examining comprehensively the fundamentalist movements in seven Major religions about one hundred and fifty scholars: whereable to author three of the six projected volumes. The Fundamentalisms observed: the Fundamentalisms and Society and the Fundamentalism and State. The core group includes eminent lumanaries of various faiths and nationalities shia legal expert, an Egyptian historian and an Amercian etc.,

'Together they have analysed fundamentalist groups that are often at odds with one another but unified in their pursuit of political power: usually; (their quest) is peaceful, but occasionally their fight back philosophy leads to riots, terrorism-and death. Since.....everything in the Fundamentalists world is; We Vs Them, God Vs Satan.....to be persecuted or spoken again is a sign (that) they have the truth.....

An eminent writer I.K. Gujral notes in his article "In pursuit of Power" Hindustan Times dated 5.9.93, though sadly, that ..... in the tumult of India, half-a-world away soujouring in a placid Calefornia Valley; Muslims and Hindus died during the week of riots when a sacred mosque is destroyed. The scholastic team examining the issue believes that such riots or be it the rescue protest etc. "both are tied to fundamentalism one of the world's fastest growing religious movements. The fundamentalists are always allergic to any compromise, since they believe that "if we give up anything, we will lose everything..... so far then there are no negotiations.

Recently some leading elite of Saudi Arabia, horrified on such a prospect that "fundamentalists hard line attitude will shake the world in coming decades; There will be a lot of turmoil, invited a leading

Egypatian Marxist, to deliver a series of lectures." He recently told a highly placed audience in Saudi Arabia that "Worldly values a beyond Islam should be components of contemporary Arab culture, "while he pleaded that" there are elements of Arab civilization that lie out side Islam.... " a speaker from audience cried," Mr. Lufti repents to God". But he was shouted down by others in the audience.

There is differentiation between traditionalism and Fundamentalism ".....since Militant Islam (ISTS) not only denounce Arab nationalism but also demand that good Muslims. ....should renounce all contacts with the world of ideas. On these issues a great debate is on and on consensus has emerged but issues which confront most are one of course; being relationship of Arab regimes with the west (described as evil) that bring in the issue of religion and culture. And two, whether the pluralistic western values are an attack against their religion? In a recently Book-Fair, held in Cairo, issues of terrorism and fundamentalism were topics of multiple debates and discussions. Islamistcs mostly on the defensive. The pertinent question, which baffles conservative regimes is whether Muslims world will ever be able to complete the power and achievements of the west. Iran while denouncing moderate Muslim regimes and their softness to the West is (itself) trying to rebuild its economy with western help.

An indepth study of ethinic, nationalist, and religious movement is much more distinct for two set of reasons; one inner, integral, i.e. the nature of religion and the other extraneous: political scene. Its integral aspect is too much stretched on the frings to extremes, "It has certainly gone to its extreme in Kashmir, as advocated by certain segments of society and fundamentalist outfits, inspiring its cadre mostly affiliated to fanatic groups, indulges in vandalism.

The lumpen elements, uprooted from rural areas, doing odd jobs - timber smuggling, ruthless deforestation, charas smuggling or remaining un-employed, become vehicles of such fanaticism.

A section of semi intelligentsia who can be accurately termed "proletariod" (a term coined by Geiger to describe the social origins of storm troopers of the Nazi party) become cannon fodder and handy for this purpose. In the clerical fundamentalist movement in Iran under the ideological guidance of Mullas, this section of society played a most abominable role. In Kashmir two such sections of society are playing

the similar role. The jamat-Islami in Pakistan and Ikhwan al-Muslimin in Egypt and some other Arab countries draw their cadres from amongst the university teachers and students. Situation in Kashmir is not dissimilar.

It is sociological and historical problems besides political that determine the direction and pace of fundamentalist movement. A backward society socially and culturally cannot make an attempt to push into modern technological changes and hence are reluctant to confirm, react adversely by rellying round those forces which promise the historical continuity of old social patterns. There is extreme reaction and disapproval of the reckless westernisation of the previllaged classes which totally shatters the old Morality. Hence movement of Regressive social reforms i.e. Burqa, shut down of cinema halls etc, we must distinguist here between westernization and modernisation. Westernization is supeerfial imitation of the ways of Western countries which in the case of elite group means drinking, gambling, indulging in extra marital sex and so on. Islami Fundamentalism will not succeed and will miseerably fail if it challenges modernisation but will be able to mobilize the masses in its role as an opponent of westernisation. Modernization is a serious project and invokes intellectual reorientation and acceptance of liberal and scientific way of thinking. Battles for modernisation do not assume the form of militant movement.

Over the years since 1972, the Islamic foundamentalist carried on ceaseless and clamourous campaign for the Islamization of Kashmir. Their ideological influence had been greater than their actual support among the people. Though foundamentalism and secessionism complement each other, however, it is through Secessionism that Jammat not only forges links with broad masses but helps them in their mass mobilization.

Jamat's armad Wing 'Hizbul-Mujahidin' and other outfits in Kashmir have declared 'Jihad' for ceession with India and against secular forces in Kashmir: It is an historical fact that founder of 'Jamat' Maulana Mawsudi in 1948 refused to declare Pakistans War in Kashmir as 'Jihad'. Maulana Mawdudi, at that time believed that since Pakistani armed forces were involved in the fighting clandestinetly and not openly, the fighting could not be declared 'Jihad', Muslim

foundamentalism is not new. Sikh fundamentalism is new; the Hindu fundamentalism is more complex due to historical, social and ideological reasons. The Islamic foundamentalism in Kashmir poses certain vital questions. "Secularisim and religion,"Democracy and dictatorship of Mullas, Muslim state and Islamic state, the Muslim salariat and Muslim ethnicity, the structure of Muslim society within India and fundamentalism of the Mullas and Islamic modernism. The roots of Islamic fundamentalism in Indian Sub-Continent date back in the 18th centure in the turmoil created by the collapse of Mughul Empire. Shah Wali Ullaha (1703-1762) who witnessed the fall of Mughal Empire asked Indian Muslims to go back to the Pristine Islam, and Purify it. Shah-Wali Ullah's followers - Sayed Ahmed Baralvi (1782-1831) went a step ahead and attempted to create an Islamic state in India. A model of this state was created in North-West but it could not survive.

Most of the Fundamentalist, in particular Jamat-Islami opposed the Pakistani movement and any liberation against feudal princes and British Imperialism. Maulana Abdul Ala Mawdudi believed that Islam was against any kind of Nationalism. He differentiated between Muslim Nationalism and Islamic Nationalism. According to Mawdudi, nationalism and national unity were not needed for freedom and political and economic progress of the country. Religion alone was the basis for a nation according to Mawdudi.

"Hizbul Mujahidin", (an armed wing of 'Jamat-Islam Kashmir) declared views on some major issues of politics and economy) and rights of women are very close to that of the Islamic fundamentalists. Kashmir fundamentalists look at the world from the Prism of their own notions. Maulana Mawdudis' temper and feudal thinking is ingrained in his teachings and actions. Maududi does not recognise the evolution of Islamic Society. His New-conservation surfaced at a time when Ideology of Fascism, Nazism was on the rise in Europe. Mawdudi gave precedence to 'Taqlid' on reason and 'Idihtihad' ; it betrays comprehensive view of history of religion.

"The devotee without devinity is like donkey tilling a mill," because the donkey goes round and round and round on its own trackes and never makes any advances," said Prophet. (Kashf-al-Mahjub) translated by K.A. Nicholson, Brill Laiden (P.11) The concept of

universe governed by impersonal law cannot be grasped by a people at a lower stage of intellectial development. The idea of history, historical continuity, cause and effect were the culmination of intellectual development of Islam. The Quran contains both a metaphysics and a philosophy of history. The teaching of Islam were the fore runner of scientific naturalism.

Today Muslim fundamentalists became adherent of the school of thought which represents a strange combination of Islamic, orthodoxy, political irrationalism, emotionalism and uncompromising hostility to progressive, liberal thought and civilization. They forget the famous saying of prophet Mohamud: (Peace be on him) "Go in quest of knowledge even upto China" (Edited by Abdullah Al-Manan, 1905 Lahore, P.P. 20-23, Premier Book House.")

With rapid increase in the activities of religious Fundamentalism among all communities, the communal situation in the country is grim and threatening the traditional secular frame-work. The concept of 'vote bank' has made the traditional Political parties to surrender before the fundamentalists. All this has emboldened the communalists and religious foundamentalists of all hues. The fundamental elements in Kashmir have stepped up their armed militancy demanding merger of state with pakistan and establishment of theocratic state in Kashmir on the pattern of concept of State in Medieval ages. The roots of this thinking in Kashmir is among neo-rich in rural areas, and expanding middle class in towns, who try to take refuge under militant ideology in the religious garb, because having acquried a certain amount of material clout and affulence, what these groups are now engaged in is essentially a hunt for far more accumulation of wealth and power.

Islamisation of the society has not been the result of peoples movement. There was not initiative from popular masses on this account, neither in Pakistan, nor in Iran much less in Saudi Arabia to enforce the Islamic 'Sharia',. In Kashmir at the movement the average Muslim semi-intelligentsia, illiterate Mulla is quite ignorant of the historical role of Islam and the tremendous contribution of Arabs, to world civilization and rationalist thought. Rationalism requires a serious consideration and comprehension, if dynamic revolution, concept of Islam is to be defended and further developed. This is the central point in Islamic thought and all other views are trival and

subor-dinate to it.

A proper appreciation of the cultural significance of Islam is of Supreme importance in this crucial period of Kashmir History. During this phase of Kashmir History, when intellectuals are under the fear of gun, fundamentalism in Kashmir is serving the interests of reactionary forces-corrupt bureaucrats, Mullas and lumpens. Muslim foundamentalism creates a psychosis where they oppose any change and lay stress on 'Taqlid'.

There has been an effort to revive or revitalize the traditions of thought that contributed in the past to the flowering of Islamic Culture and the scientific and rationalist content of Arab philosophy. It is necessary to study the Muslim Philosophy, its heritage and particularly the works of major medieval thinkers. Al-Farali, Ibn Rushd, Avicenna, (930-1037). Ibn Tufeyl (1110-1186), Abdul Rehman Ibu Khaldin (1332, 1406), Jalal-Ud-Din Rumi (1207-1273) Mahmud Abudh, Jamal Ud-Din Afghani.

In the womb of the Islamic world a progressive trend took inception and negated the revivalist trend. The 20th century produced two great thinkers Iqbal in the Indian Sub-Continent and the Martyr-Dr. Ali Shariati, in Iran, Iqbal in his monumental work. "The Reconstruction of Religious thoughts in Islam," gave a creative and radical interpretation to Islamic precept, favoured secular thought on Scientific rational ideas and further enriched Ibn Rushd's (Spainsh Philospher) valid sound Rationalism, Iqbal being an inner radical, evolved the concept of "man of faith" with a social committment. Dr. Shariat's Mumin' belongs to 20th century humanist tradition and stands on the side of oppressed masses. Both thinkers Iqbal and 'Shariatim inner radieals, are poles as under from the revivalist, like Mulana Mawdudi. Shariati and Iqbal believe in the total change of society for the emancipation of down trodden while the fundamentalist gaze is on the past. Analysing the phenomena of fundmentalism, in his thought provoking Book, "Islam and Revolution," Asghar Ali Engineer says:

"It is not very difficult for a careful observer of the socio-political scene in the Muslim world to understand that it is not religion which inspires the politicians but politics of ruling classes which determines the instrumentality of religion whether it is the "Nizam-a-Mustafa of late Zia-Ul-Haq in Pakistan or the fundamentalism of Khomani in

Iran-.....none has remained untainted by Politics of the ruling class in these countries."

Iqbal emphatically declares that the claim of the present generation of Muslim liberals to reinterpret the fundamental legal principles, in the light of their own expeirence, and the alered conditions of modern life is, perfectly justified. The teaching of the Quran that the life is a process of progressive creation necessitates that each generation, guided but unhampered by the work of its predecessors, should be permitted to solve its own problems. (Lactures-Lahore). Iqbals ideal was never simply to recreate the past on Islamic state. For nothing in the world moves backwards except in State of Death.

In Kashmir, the present generation has to ponder over an imporant problem that has plagued the Kashmiri society-a peculiar inter mix of religion and Policies and Pitiable subjugation of the former to latter. A ruthless exploitation of Islam not only to politics and group interests that subjects Islam not only to Politics but day to day politics: Islam becomes sheer demogogery. Unfortunately the fundamentalist Militant groups operating in Kashmir are the most blatantly guilty of such systematic manipulation of Islam." The slogan religion and Politics are inseperable is employed to dupe the common man into accepting that, instead of Politics...., Islam should come to serve the immediate and myopic objective of Party Politics" ("Islamization of Pakistan," Dr Afzal Iqbal Ex-Pak Ambassadar, P.158).

Chapter - VI

Bibliography

1. Hindustan Times Dated 5.9.93 — H.S. Agvani
2. The Islamic Resurgence, Chapter VI — Islamic Fundamentalism (Political and Economic Dimensions) "Iqbal Institute, University of Kashmir. 1982
3. Gyula WOJTIHA : — Contribution of Islam to World Civilization And Culture. Chapter IV: Islami Studies. Light And life Publishers' New Delhi.
4. Marteka Stepanyants: — 'Muslim Philosophy in Soviet Studies' : Chpter 6, "Rumi and Iqbals Concept of Perfect man". Sterling Publishers Pvt Limited.
5. M.N. Roy : — The Historical Role of Islam, Chapter VI: Islamic Philosophy, Ajanta Book International, Delhi (110047)
6. M. Siddiqi: — Development of Islamic State and Society Chapter (V) The Abbaside Stater And Society. Institute of Islamic Culture, Club Road, Lahore.
7. Politics of Jammat-E Islami — C.P.I. Publications, Ajoy Bhavan, Katda Mang, New Delhi.
8. Afzal Iqbal (Ex Pak Ambassador) — Islamization of Pakistan, Chapter II : Qiuaid Azam and the Islamic State Vanguard Books Limited, 3, Davis Road, (Lahore)
9. The reconstruction of Religious Thoughts in Islam — Dr Sir Mohd Iqbal.

Chapter VII

WOMAN, SOCIETY AND STATE

(With particular reference to Kashmir)

The problem of raising woman from oppressed, a lower value status to social, economic and political equality, from tradition to modernity has been a discontinuous and indeed a complex process linked with the contradictory pulls and tensions of class, caste and power. The realization of equality has been an inseparable process of modernization in our society against 'closed society' of the Middle Ages and in a protracted and bitter struggle the dynamic concept emerged as a great ideological force. An important aspect of the transition from tradition to modernity is the change in the pattern of social stratification.

It is a matter of grave concern that position of women in India has deteriorated in recent years in social as well as in economic spheres. Since in our country capitalism is being built without eradicating the remanents of Feudalism, backward ideas continue to dominate our social relations and determine womens status in the family and society. The attitude of discriminatory treatment against woman had its origin in the feudal pattern of social setup. Consciousness and pride of status are marked features of feudal remanents.

To-day in the name of Sikhism, the Khalistani militants use terror to deprive Sikh women of the right to even wear a sari while in Kashmir militant fundamentalists throw acid on Muslim women who do not wear a veil. In the name of Chirstianity women are denied equality in Christian laws.

In historical retrospect, while tracing the status of women in ancient India; the society in its attitude to women, " the Buddhist tradition showed great liberality than the Hindu tradition, as for

instance in permitting the women to become nuns. There were eight types of marriages including even abduction. Latter only legal marriage was recognised. The status of lower caste woman was miserable. Strict rituals and rigid laws were imposed on the depressed classes by the society dominated by upper castes (Romila Thapper, "Ancient Indian Social History").

It is historical untruth to eulogize superior status of woman in the past and myth glorifying women in ancient India. With the development of complexities in the system and "through changes in power structure and the introduction of rituals women of the latter vedic period were subordinated" (The structure of Gender relations in early India - Dr. Umma Chakravorty and Kumkum Roy, "The Weakening of woman-kind Ritual and Power in latter vedic society" - 'Recasting woman' Essays in colonial History : Kum Kum Sangeri (New Delhi 1989)

Nature of status of women in Islam was an historical step forward to raise her position in the society; "It is accepted almost on all hands that Prophet Mohamad's reform enhanced the status of woman in general as compared to the conditions of pre-Islamic Arabia. Still Quran maintains the superiority of man, legalises Polygamy and divorce under certain conditions. This helped the Prophet in overcoming the gulf between legislation and the norms of the prevailing social order and he could maintain a certain equalibrium between the two" (Islamic Philosophy and Islam in India-Firdos - Anwar - Party life - Monthly Journal of CPI page 30)

Asghar Ali engineer, a renowned scholar of Islam, in his book Islam And Liberation Theology holds different view on the Rights of women under Islam.

The Quranic verses regarding women are pragmatic in approach not normative. "If we put all these three verses together and see them in their proper context it becomes obvious that Allah does not ordain sexual inequality, nor inequality by birth. The inequality is of social structure and adopting pragmatic approach it allows a degree of superiority to men. But not be misunderstood, the Quran makes it a point to make a normative declaration in unambiguous words:-

"And women have rights similar to those against men".....

"Islam has given rights to woman which no other religion has given.

Some rights guaranteed to her several centuries ego have not been given to her even in the modern system of law". (Rights of woman under Islam page 172, 182 Islam and Liberation Theology - Asghar Ali Engineer Sterling Publishers (P) Ltd., New Delhi 11006)

Yet the deeply religious minded members of the younger generation of Muslims all over the world are strongly feeling the need for reform in the socio - religous thinking and the way of life of their community. The galant examples of Pakistan and Bangladeshi women's valient struggle against the ruthless dictators, who tried to divest them of their rights is a glorious chapter of the present decades.

The fundamentalist outfits in Kashmir through their regressive Social Reforms; (Burqa) (womenfolk to put on veil) etc have been trying their utmost of push Kashmiri Muslim women back to a subordinate position head on. To fight back this outmoded, reactionary and obsucrantist trend, we have to examine and reasses literary sources as far back as the seventh Century, that is right to the origins of the religion and particularly the life and teachings of Prophet.

A thorough study of hisfory of Islam reveals that if women's rights are a problem for some Muslim men, it is neither because of the 'Quran' nor the prophet, nor the Islamic tradition, but simply because these rights conflict with the interests of male elite. During the time of Prophet, when he preaced an egalitarian message, women participated in the life of community.

Fatima Mernessi, a writer and Professor of Sociology at the University of Rabat, in her scholarly works "Woman And Islam" - an historical and theological enquiry points out, "going through the religious literature is no small task. The overwhelming number of volumes to be studied means that the average Muslim can never know as much as an Imam. Ms Mernessi found proof of the manipulation of sacred texts" - which she claims is a 'structural characteristic of the practice of power in Muslim Societies."

About (Burqa) Hijob or veil, after a thorough research and double investigation she says," in Medina when the verse about the veiling of woman was revealed, it came about because women were harassed on the streets. The veil was to protect them but it came to symbolize a retreat from the principle of equality," according to her. (Hindustan Times: 25-9-93,' interesting but controversial' by Zeenat Iman."

There is a massive veritable media campaign initiated by fundamentalists in Kashmir to do battle with those who speak about womens' liberation. The history of Islam presents the case of equality of woman on solid foundations: the prophets wives discussed politics with him and even went to war. The mission of prophet upheld the equality of all believers. To quote Fatima Mernessi, "there is need to plead for a reinterpretation of Islamic texts visa-vis-the position of women" (Fatima Mernessi, women And Islam).

Viewing the present position of inequality where our women are placed in the country is yet to get rid of the lingering influence of feudalism or semi-feudalism even after four decades of independence.

The following information export from the National perspective plan for women will help us guage the condition of women in the country.

(a) Of the 33 crore women as many as 25 crore are poorest of the poor.

(b) 75% are illiterate.

(c) Incidents of torture on women are even increasing in 1989 alone 6668 rape cases and 2517 dowry deaths took place.

Rape symbolises worst form of opperssion that women can be exposed to. It is more serious crime than murder.

Concept of woman and the house-hold constitutes

an interesing socio-logical and social philosophical studies to-day.

"Studying family structure is an insight in the role of woman as social actors". (Woman and House hold in Asia 'Lella Dubey' (Saga Publications).

The House-hold is a pivotal factor, because it forms the unit of co-residence, consumption and reproduction and is often a production and economic unit as well. The House-hold emerges as the basic unit of family ideology, and the explicit and implicit assumption of interests that form the structure of interpersonal behaviour between the sexes.

Patriarchy as a blanket term is rightly cautioned against since in this form it limits the understanding of gender. The prevalent erroneous view that there is an undifferentiated Asian model of gender relations, since the changing forms of division of labour and the wider

economic processes, both national and international, constantly redefine the role of women in society and production.

The emergence of new class belonging to trade and industry - transformation of feudal land relations into capitalist relations is in contrast to pre-industrial system which was essentially a closed status system not only" on stable gradation of property, power and prestige, but on the 'sacred tie of tradition', the undisputed belief in the legitimacy of position and the prestige of descent". (R. Dahrendurf," class and class conflict in Industrial societies" PP 68, 69, 61.

It is under capitalism that we see a separation of the productive means and the produce, the separation of the home and work place, the former as the site of use value production and the latter as the same in exchange value production.

Thus the house wife and house work acquire certain values and characteristics. Therefore it is not sexual division of labour that is the root cause of subordination but the relations of production to study the specificaties of gender division and subordination. Under capitalism gender is not culturaly free, since precapitalist cultural processes do carry over various forms. As worker is pitted against worker in the labour market we can see why the woman worker becomes an exploited and discriminatory category within the working class.

House-hold is not necessarily the seat of harmonious relations between the sexes. The house-hold must instead be viewed as the location of individuals who have unequal power - men, women and children.

"A clear exposition of the variations brought into the family by state, class, ethnicity and economic conditions resulting into fundamental and qualitative changes. It challenges the assumption that the family is homogenous and all members of family derive equal benefit. It highlights womens over-work, deprivation and new forms of oppression". "Gender And the House hold Domain". M. Krishnaraj and K. Channena (ed) page 263, - Sage publications Delhi.

There is an active relationship between gender and capitalists." "The capitalist sees in his wife a mere instrument of production," said Marx and Engles in Communist Manifesto (1848).

"Communists have no need to introduce community of women, it

has already existed from time immemorial".

"The bourgeoisie (capitalists) not content with having the wives and daughters of their proletarians (working class) at their disposal, not to speak of common prostitutes, take the greater pleasure in seducing each others' wives".

"When woman is kept enslaved man suffers from this even more than woman herself" Communist Manifesto (Marx-Engles). Afterall, it is not out of choice that woman, became prostitute. They are product of the exploitation system of capitalism and decadent feudal values, that they can only get liberated by an overthrow of the system that enslaves them - not by changing their profession.

Much praises have been showered on west in regard to their liberalism towards second sex - women. The liberal West was always Severaly patriarachel and sexist. There is no parallel word for sisterhood of woman in their dictionary. Woman had to fight tooth and nail to get right to vote or a wardrobe.

Socialist country USSR put a man in space, woman had no private kitchens, laundries, sewing machines and gadgets for reducing house hold drudgery. Even private prostitution reapeared to a certain extent. Of course women were pressed into production as 'Crisis labour', and lauded as 'mothers' workers by the official media without any parallel change in the roles of men. The decision making was entirely male with woman having a negligible role in policy making political organs.

F. Engles in his 'Principles of Communism', gave an appropriate definition of, "Trends in man - Woman relationship" -

"An order without capitalist system make the relation between the sexes a purely individual, private affair which concerns only the two persons involved".

The recent family code (1975) of Cuba is one of the few pieces of legislation which envisages the re-structuring of the very private institution of family, towards more symmetrical relation between men and women. Men are expected to share 50% of the house-hold work in Cuba; China has similar provision.

The U.N. Development Decade for women has the final nail into the coffin of the myth of sex inequality as nature given and biologically determined.

And, compasion, love is not a male or female virtue. In a sense all humans are male and female both.

The present generation of state (J&K) being kept uninformed, five decades back in 1944 progressive group inside the then National Conference, succeeded to get adopted 'New Kashmir' programme, 1944. It contains the Women's charter. It stands for the attainment by women of her just and rightful place in society, and her co operation in the mighty and responsible task of nation building. To that end it will ensure to her the following rights : State and Political, Right of entry to all state services, economic, social, legal, educational, cultural. In certain respects it surpasses, the National Perspective Plan 'of Rajeev Gandhi and Janta Dal. The tragedy is that successive Governments in J&K state did not guarantee their implementation of promises made in the charter. It is the task of democratic womens organisation to carry on agitation for getting as many of them implemented as possible.

To the Muslim fundamentalists, I would like to pose a question - you are not even prepared to concede the rights to woman enjoyed in so-called Islamic state of Pakistan and many Islamic countries. They should remember the historic lesson: "The wheel of history does not turn back, it takes full circle"

(Georgi Dimitrov in famous Nazi held Reichtag Trial".)

Chapter - VII

Bibliography.

1- Romila Thapper: Ancient Indian Social History.

2- Dr. Umma Chakravorty and Kumkum Roy. The structure of Gender relations in early India.

3- Kum Kum Sangeri: The weakening of women-kind Ritual and power in later vedic society Recasting women Essays in colonial History (New Delhi 1989)

4- Firdos - Anwarl: Islamic Philosophy and Islam in India - Party life-Monthly Journal of CPI page 30)

5- Asghar Ali Engineer: Rights of woman under Islam page 172, 182 Islam and Liberation Theology (Sterling Publishers (P) Ltd., New Delhi 1100 6).

6- Zeenat Iman: Hindustan Times 25-9-93 'Interesting but Controversial'

7- Fatima Mernessi: Woman And Islam.

8- Lella Dubey: Woman and House hold in Asia (Saga Publications).

9- R. Dahredurf: "Class and Class conflict in Industrial Societies" PP 68, 69, 61.

10- Marx - Engles: 'Communist Manifesto'.

Chapter VIII

NEO - PAN ISLAMISM AND CENTRAL ASIAN REPUBLICS

The spectre of Neo - Pan - Islamism is haunting major portions of globe today. The emergence of independent Central Asian Sates ----- Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Uzbikistan, Turkamanistan, Tajikistan, has raised the troubling issue of non-proliferation of nuclear stockpile. The senator Sam Nun, Chairman of the U.S.A Armed Services Committee put it:

> We are on the verge of either the greatest destruction of nuclear weapons in the hisotry of world or the greatest proliferation of nuclear weapons, nuclear materials and the - scientific know-how to make these weapons.

Iran, Pakistan and Turkey are generous enough to admit new Central Asian Repulics into the Organisation of New Economic Cooperation. Some Republics have applied for the same and organisation has instantaneously welcomed this move.

Many Western experts on Central Asia are apprehensive of religious Revivalism, Fundamentalism surfacing in this region after collapse of communism in the Soviet Union. Pakistani ruling classes are vigorously wooing the new Central Asian Republics and an atmosphere of self deception is visible to revive the old, and historically hackneyed and worn out conception of 'Pan - Islamism' propounded by Al - Afghani - Jamal-UD-Din. Sceptic myopic and pessimistic Giri-Lal Jain brand of intellectuals in India harbour the fear that the new Republics will go fundamentalist and form an Islamic block.

What are the chances of 'Arc of pan - Islamism' emerging and prevaling in the regions comprising Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan

and Central Asian Republics? Is Neopan - Islamism a tenable proposition in the new age of technology, Industrial growth and revolution in communication?

The mythical Arc of Islam, in the early 19th Century collapsed under its own compulsions and contradictions. The movement of Pan - Islamism needs a rational, detached analysis in its historical retrospect.

Jamal al-Din AL - Afghani, one of the founders of pan - Islamism, a non-Indian Muslim, differed with Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan on the issue of extremist rationalism (ILim - AL - Kalam) and regarded his modernist postulates as heresy. Sir Sayyid stood for co-operation with British, AL - Afghani, was bitterly anti-British. (A.M. Goiehon (Refutation des Materialists), Paris, 1942).

Sayyid Ahmed Khan was considered by AL - Afghani as his main adversary -- for anti pan - Islamism, isolating the Indian Muslims from the rest of 'Dar - al - Islam' especially from Turks, and not favourably disposed to the conception of an universal Khilafat - Islamic Centre.

Howsover, both shared and agreed on the view -- "both believe Islam to be capable of an evolutionary process within the present and future history of mankind and in accord with it". (AL - Urwat al-Wathqa, Beriut, 1933, 489-94 and passim".

On the problem of fusion between religion and Science, Sayyid Ahmed Khan's basic formulation of Modernism - "Ilimal - Kalam", Jamal ud din AL - Afghani was agreeable and both shared the essential similarities of these tenets. On the issue of modrnism, both of them toed the line ennunciated by the Tunisian Khyral - din pasha. His influence on Sayyid Ahmed Khan's thinking was all pervasive. AL - Afghani was of the view that 'Ulma' should be categorical about arriving at consensus of Ijtihad - (the principle of independent Judgement in religious and legal questions.) Such a radical approach was needed in the surroundings in which the drive for progress was in the hands of non muslims. AL - Afgahani was interested in the "Political Islam" the view at variance with Sayyid Ahmed Khan's ideas. Sayyid Ahmed Khan was concerned with Indian Muslims unlike AL-Afghani. Sayyid Ahmed Khan adopted reconcilatory attitude towards British and stood for policy of cooperation. AL - Afghani was arch anti British. On the attitude to be adopted vis-a-vis imperialists, he was a

bitter critic of Sayyid Ahmed Khan.

Revolution in the modern means of communication in the Late 19th Century brought the countries of world of Islam colser. It gave rise to the idea of 'Historical Islam' propounded by 'Hali' in his 'Musaddas'. This trend resulted in to contact with Europea and Turkish (Ottoman) Empire and appreciation of Anglo - Turk Amity and enlightened Reforms expounded by Rushid Pasha.

An ideological conflict arose, cracks appeared in the movement. The concept as advocated by Sayyid Ahmed Khan -- Indian Muslim be loyal to British on the one hand and express sympathy for the 'Dar - AL - Islam' was contradiction in terms and retreat from the basic position. Muslim middle class in India contributed to such a stance, quite contary to political ideology - (Pan - Islamic) adopted by AL - Afghani - recongnition of the Ottoman Sultan as the Khalifa of all Muslims. But writings of AL - Afghani were popular in India. His monumental treatizes on 'Pan Islamism' - 'AL - Urwat Al-Muthqa' were published in Dara al-Sultanate, Calcutta and Mushir - I. Qaiser, Lucknow. Bengali Muslims were captivated by AL-Afghani's ideas. Mulana Shibli - Numani met Sheikh Mohd. Abudh, an eminent Islamic scholar of international repute in Egypt and had a tremendous impact of Al-Afghanis ideas -- Pan - Islamism. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, great freedom fighter for Indian independence - was profoundly impressed by AL-Afghani Iqbal had entered the arena of AL - Afghanis thought and developed the concept of Muslim state on this premise. (Abul Kalam Azad - Humayun Kabir (ed) contribution by Syed Mahmud, Iqbal, Javeed Nama, Lahore 1959, P. 63-93).

AL - Afghanis ideological theme became the basis of the Indian Khilafat Movement. He preached unified "Ijtihad" in order to revitalize the Ulema. His Pan - Islamist views concurred with a revivalist interest in 'historical Islam' and Indian Muslims were impressed by it. AL - Afghani was in search of "Universal Khilafat".

Pan - Islamist movement in Russia surfaced under Ismail Gasprunsky, inspired by the AL - Afghani's thought (S.A. Zenkovsky, Pan - Turkish and Islam in Russia, Cambridge, Mass, 1960).

In India 'Ulemas', (religious muslim scholars) were espounsing the cause of Ottoman (Turk) empire. Syed Amir Ali Badar Ud-din Tayybji and Chiiaq Ali were also proponents of universal Ottoman caliphate

as the political solution of the whole of 'Dar al - Islam'. Ubayd-Ullaha Sindhi, wrote, "Shah Wali ullah aur Unki Siyasi Tahrik', Lahore, 1952, P. 110. It is said that he met Lenin in Moscow and advocated pan - Islamist view point. AL - Afghani, the founder of the movement died in mysterious circumstances in Turkey in 1897.

Sayyid Ahmed Khan was reluctant to accept the institution of Khalafat presented in this context. He believed that true 'Khilafat' ended with the first four Khalifas, and that even in the sense and form of universal Monorchy. Hali represented the revolutionary aspect of AL - Afghanis Pan - Islamism. Maluana Mohd. Ali opposed Aligarh movement and was pro - Turk. After World War I, he emerged as a tallest leader of Khilafat movement. The movement supported Kemalist Turkey-and opposed the puppet Mohammad VI, and Sharief Hussian of Mecca. About 18000 Indian Muslims migrated to Afghanistan to register protest against the harsh treatment of Turkey in the 'Treaty of Severes'. In 1924, Mustafa Kamai abolished 'Khilafat'. Indian Muslims being opposed to Sharief Hussain, supported Ibn Said in his occupation of Hijaz.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, an outstanding Muslim intellectual in his definition of 'Khilafat', (Pan - Islamism) endowed it with new wide dimensions. At Mecca, he was inspired by Sheikh Mohd. Abudh, adopted political thinking of AL-Afghani and disseminated his Pan - Islamist theory in his prominent paper 'AL - HILAL' on the theoretical basis laid down by AL - Afghani in his famous treatise -- ""URWAT - AL - WUTHQAT". The treatise is critical of Westernization as preached by Sayyid Ahmed Khan, Sultan Mahmud and Faud Pasha (Turkey) etc. Azad in his writings stressed the political reform movement of AL - Afghani and Mehdat Pasha. He supported the religious Reform movement of Shykn Sadar-al-din of Muslim Russia. He attributed the decline of Islam to lack and suspension of 'IJTIHD'. (Abul Kalam Azad, Khatbat, Lahore 1944. P. 199-202) On the political plane, Azad based his theorey of pan-Islamism on five pillars : "Jamma 'a' should follow one Khalifa or Immam, rallying to call of Khalifa, hijrat (migration) to the 'Dar-al-Islam' and Jihad -- (literally 'struggle, as early as 9th century there appears the idea of a spiritual Jihad. i.e the individual search for perfection on the path of Allah (God). The views expressed by Azad were similar to that of AL - Afghani'. The monarchical Khilafat could be defied if it acted otherwise. These views

were in consonance to Zia - Gokalp. (Zia - Gokalp -- "Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization Eng. tr. Niyazi Berkes, London, 1959. P. 226-33) Azad advised Muslims to integrate into the Indian National Congress. His formulation slighty deviated from the 'IJMA' - consensus.

Iqbal was exponent of Neo - Pan - Islamism. In 1920, he emerged unchallenged leader of Muslim intellectuals in the Sub-continent. His advocacy of Islam in his famous treatise, (Reconstruction of Religious thoughts in Islam, London, 1934 - 201-221 and Passim; Idem. 'Rumuzi-Bikhudi', Lahore, n.d. 104-118; Eng. tr.). "Arberry (The Mysteries of self-lessness, London, 1953, P 11-12) is that the Prophet of Islam stood between two stages of the evolution of human society, the Psychic and rational. He believed in the dynamic conception of universe. Islamic culture rejects racialism and consequently geographical Nationalism. This principle can be interpreted and applied by the dynamic principle of 'IJTIHAD' -- the principle of independent Judgement in religious and legal questions. The 'IJTIHAD' in modern conditions is tha privilige of parliament or legislative Assembly, the only possible form of 'IJMA' - consensus, the fundamental principle on which Muslim Jurisprudence, or 'FIQH' is based. Even in modern democratic conditions a layman can even contribute who possesses a keen insight into affairs. This conception of 'IJTIHAD' was developed in Turkey. One can see its stimulus in Halim Thabits new theories of Muslim Law. This theory of Muslim law, advocated by Turks led separation of religion from the Status. Turkism Grand Assembly abolished 'Khilafat'. Iqbal defended such a step. He endorsed the view of Zia Pasha that each Muslim state should just try to evolve its own set up. "In the existing world situation 'Political Islam' could best survive neither by narrow nationalism, **nor in the form of universal state, but in the multi-national free association, something like leaque of Nations of Islam".** (Iqbal, "Khilafat - I - Islamiya in 'Fikr - 1 Iqbal', Hyderabad 1944, P. 57-88 Idem)

In conformity with AL - Afghanis views on Islam, Iqbal had also appreciated AL - Mawaridis theories in the light of modern developments -- 'DAR - AL - ISLAM'. (Iqbal Ibid. P. 57-58- Idem). Iqbal approved the structure of Kamalist state and commended the Turkish thinkers (Khalid-a-Adib Khanam etc.) for side lining the issue of Khilafat Pan - Islamism. He simplified the AL - Afghanis concept of

Pan - Islamism to the creation of separate Muslim - State, in consonance with the Sayyid Ahmed Khan's political thought -- Muslim State within India. No Secession as claimed by certain sections of Pakistani writers today.

On examining the above views on Pan-Islamism, there is a lot of divergence, contradictions and varied approaches and distinct con-ceptulizations by its eminent archticts -- AL - Afghani, an extreme anti British, bitter critic of Westernization. Azad an exponent of unity of communities (Ummas) ---- his theorisation on 'Wahadat - ul-Umma' and integration of Muslim 'Umma' with the national movement, Sayyid Ahmad Khan for cooperation of Muslims with the West, modernization and Muslim separatism within the Sub-continent and Iqbal reducing AL - Afghanis formulation to the achieving objective of North West Indian and Central Asian Muslim State. (Ishtiaq Hussian Qureshi in, "sources of Indian Tradition, ed. w. Th. de. Bray, etc. New York, 1958, P. 827).

On close observation, 'Pan-Islamism' being religious and political movement, emerged at the end of 19th Century, its founder AL - Afghani - Jamal-UD-DIN, a political nomad; has been fraught with many contradictions - neither history and culture nor geo-politics could allow it to form a firm base for evolving an Islamic Block to come together in a single Muslim State led by Khalifa.

It is strange coincidence of history that both Lenin and Gandhi, gave a qualified support to the Pan - Islamic movement in their struggle for national liberation of Afro - Asian States. To use Lenins words, Pan - Islamism reflected attempts to "combine the liberation movement against European and American Imperialism, with the attempt to strengthen the position fo Khans, Landowners, Mullahas, etc." (collected works, Vol. 31. p. 49).

Gandhi, in alliance with Ali brothers (Maulana Mohd. Ali, Maulana Showkat Ali), and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, supported the Pan - Islamist movement migrated to Afghanistan. In the annals of our freedom struggle, this phase is known by the name, "Khilafat movement" led by Gandhi, Ali Brother's and M.A. Azad. Such a historical, tactical move involved Muslims in the struggle against British Imperialism and paved way to Hindu - Muslim unity.

On the ruins of AL - Afghanis Pan - Islamism rose

'Mutamir-Islami'. It was dominated by Anglo-American block and pro-west monarchical regimes. International explosive issues Kashmir, and Palestine and spurt in national liberation movements in Afro-Asian countries led to its collapse. Muslim world league and international Islamic organization was founded in 1962, its headequarters is in Mecca. Its supreme body is the constitutent council, which consists of 54 religious leaders. Its leader is Secretary General from among the theologians of Saudi Arabia. The aim of the organisation is the propagation of Islamic teaching throughout the world. It publishes, newspaper in Arabic, (News of the Arab world. It has the status of a non-governmental consultative organisation affiliated to the United Nations.

The effective vehicle of modern Neo-Pan-Islamic organisation is Islamic Conference set up at a summit meeting of Muslim heads of State and government held in Rabat (Morocco) in 1969. Its meetings are held annually. The Secretariat is located at Jidda (Saudi Arabia). The organisation defines its aims as "to promote Islamic solidarity among member states (about 42 countries belong to it) in economic, social, oultural, scientific and other vital fields of activity and carry out consultations among member states in international organisations; endeavour to elimiate racial segregation and discrimination and eradicate colonialism in all its forms. To support the struggle of Palestine and help them to regain their rights and liberate their land. An important part of the organisations activities is the propagation of Islam. Supplementary bodies have also been set up, such as the Islamic Development Bank, the Islamic Solidarity Foundation and international Islamic News Agency. Even though having its aims Islamic Solidarity, unity and brotherhood of All Muslims the member countries of the organisation do not have common stand on many important political problems of the present time. This is a reflection of the differences in the socio-economic and political systems to be found in them-Neo-Pan-Islamism is still a far distant cry as it was in the early 19th century. Central Asian Republics - Kazakstan, Uzbikistan, Turkamanistan, Kughizistan, Azerbaijan and Tajikistan) is a many-splendoured region, being at the cross roads of civilizations. It has undergone through varied experiences of communist political system for about a century and developed socialist culturally; Soviet in form and national in content. The relations with India is an interesting

chapter of history. Central Asia is the area of struggle; it is not yet over. The modern central Asia has a tradition of several exotic civilization. Certain Republics have desired to join Islamic Conference - Economic cooperation; an institution of Iran, Turkey and Pakistan. The governments of Central Asian Republics unlike Russia have not banned the Communist Parties and communists are in power in some Republics.

The Central Asian Republics were established in the 1920. I (the writer) have visited these Republics thrice- 1962, 1970 and 1973 and studied their social political life closely; the Central Asia also includes Chinese Central Asia comprising inner Mongolia, Sinkiang and Tibet. There are two parts of Central Asia, the eastern and the western, inhabited by the Mongols and the Turks repectively. The Mongols were the first to unite central Asia under one sovereignty. They have ruled both China and Russia. The Turks followed them. The Central Asia has been seat of vast empires. Eastern Central Asia is Buddhist and Western Asia professes Islmaic faith. The Mongols are Buddhists and Turks are Muslims. In the past, it was from Central Asia that science travelled to west Asia and thence to Europe.

Russians penetrated the region in the 17th Century. Russia and Britain became deeply involved in the area. Since the earliest times, India has taken active interest in the life and politics of Central Asia. Russia, made tremendous impact on its history, politics especially, since October Revolution, 1917, led by Lenin and Stalin.

In the central Asian states, 'Bukhara being a centre of Islamic culture (1861-76); Ottoman Turkey played an important role in the consolidation and politics of the region. The idea of Pan-Islamism (Political Islam) developed in a tremendous way during the Khilafat of Sultan Abdul Aziz.

The Pan-Islamic-cum Pan-Turkik movement had a considerable impact during the first world war in central Asia, Persia, Afghanistan and India. It also influenced events in the caucasus in 1917. The Eastern question (The Turkish Problem) was inter-linked with the India problem. The defeat in the war of 1914-18, in accordance with the terms of the armistice, spoils after defeat of Ottomans were started by Britain, France and Greece. Indian Muslims got enraged, started Khilafat movement, in India in 1920 in order to restore the territorial authority

of Ottomans. To counter and contain Pan-Islamic sentiment in the central Asia in particular strong centre located at Bukhara; famed for its social, cultural and religious institutions. Katherine II was the first Russian ruler to think of converting the Kazak and Siberian tribes to Islam through the Mullahas of Kazan - the centre of Islam in Russia.

On the eve of Russian Revolution, the Central Asian states were feudal and tribal tutelages, a Czarist prison of nationalities.

Lenin and Stalin, during the phase of revolutionary struggle, had evolved a formula for solution of the nationalities problem - political and cultural autonomy to the extent of 'Right to secede'. It was stalin's brilliant thesis, "on the nationalities question' to be implemented in post revolutionary Russia.

The task of solving the nationality question accompanied with social and cultural revolution was assigned to hard-boiled Bolsheviks 'Frunze' and 'Baba Jan Gaffarov'.

Lenin made an impassioned appeal to the Mohammadans of Russia to support revolution and go through revolutionary transition; In Stalin's, 1936 constitution, the Right to secede was enshrined in the constitution of the Republics. Though on paper its importance cannot be under-estimated and blurred in the present dust and din, as a constitutional guarantee. This very right is being exercised by the Republics, now a days commonly called by the name of dismemberment of Soviet Union'.

New policy on nationality problem, land decree abolishing feudalism, cultural Revolution-cum modernisation and mass literarcy campaigns enraged mullas, Pan-Islamists and Pan-Turkists. Mullahas took a leading part in the many rebellions, British imperialists organized and armed 'Basmachi bands' that inflitrated from Afghanistan and Iran. These armed incursions continued for decades; wrought havoc, terror and destruction. A net work of espionage was organized by British intelligence services, its coordinating centres being located in Afghanistan, Iran and Kashmir's British Residency.

The main aim of Soviet Policy towards the muslims in the Central Asia in the early years was to break up and eliminate the dangerous Pan-Turkic ideas and movements advocated by men like Enver Pasha (1881-1922). However despite the efforts of Soviet authorities, one such movement, the Basmachi movement, survived, although in a

subdued form, upto the second world war. During and after the second world war, a change for good took place towards Islam. The Muslims of central Asia and Russia responded by extending their whole hearted co-operation in the war effort.

During and after the formation of Central Asian Republics a dynamic communist leader - Syed Mir Mehdi advocated that central Asian Republics be enblock consolidated and separately organized as a show window to attract the world of Islam. Stalin spruned this idea, Syed Mehdi was imprisoned and on the eve of second world war executed. During Revolutionary phase and transition period, Islam did not get vanished and is not dead in Soviet Central Asian Republics as a way of life. Even after the Revolution administration of Muslim religious Affairs, Stalin as a head of Soviet Government set up three councils, one each (1) in UFA for the Muslims of the RSfSR, including Siberia, (2) in Tashkent for the muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhastan, (3) in Baku for the muslims of the 'Trans - Caucasus' and (4) Bunaysk for the muslisms of Northern Caucasus and Daghistan. The councils of Ufa, Tashkent and Buinak are each headed by a chairman known as Mufti and they look after the religious affairs of the muslims, "Musul Mane Sovetskogo Vostoka" Muslims of Soviet East, a journal being published by the muslim religious Board of Central Asia and Kazakhstan since 1968; it comes out in Uzbek, Arabic, English, Persian and appears four times a year. In its pages theological questions are discussed, 'Fatwahas' are published in it, extracts from sermons, and materials relating to various muslim Forums too.

In 1966, a significant change occurred in the Soviet policy towards Islam for adopting a positive attitude towards Islam both inside and outside its territories. An international confernace was held in Moscow in the same year (1966) to consider "the influence of Religion on the social thought of the peoples of East". It was pointed out that the vital role of religion in the shaping of social and political behaviour had been underrated and any serious study of it neglected. It recognised that Islam in particular had played a great role and recommended the establishment of centres of Islamic studies in Soviet Universities.

The recent theories and misconceived estimates that Islam as a way of life had vanished during Communist supremacy and was dead in Soviet Central Asia and is to be restored, is figment of imagination,

myth emanating from certain quarters - west and fundamentalist muslim states. This is my personal observations made after my visits to central Asian Republics. The social and cultural values of Islam and their influence are an abiding factor in the lives of the Muslim of Central Asian Repulics.

Lenins policy on nationalities, particularly towards central Asian Republics was moderate, liberal and full of caution - option for federation that stressed 'the right to self determination for each nationality and evolution of voluntary collective effort to build socialism. Lenin visualized national contradictions and distinctions would emerge in near future too, and fusion a far distant dream. After his death, nationalities in the union had come off, shaped but in some cases in the revolutionary process and element of force was used. It resulted in reverses. In the era of Stalin and Brezhanov period leadership as well, process of assimilation meant Russification, accompanied by political and economic commandism. Redressal of these follies and restoration of Lenins policy" was made in its true sense (FBIS, 17 Aug. 8 1989, p-42). It meant transfer of greater powers to Republics, establishing their capacity to become 'self financing'. (Paul R. BRASS - Ethnicity and Nationalism' (Theory and Comparison) p-312. Saga Publications. New Delhi). It was a belated act. In fact policy of Russification was followed since 1930. On the language issue Republics agitated and protested.

In the process of bureaucratization and administration, 'Party cadre policy' was adopted - policy of using non-indigenous cadre' in the republics to act as a check upon indigenous party personnel. Brezenov tried to introduce reforms - assigning second position to Russians it was called a policy of stability of cadres, "it lead to dominance of republic bureaucracies by indigenous nationalities and the creation of "entrenched political machines". Paul R. Brass, Languages, Religion and Politics in North India (Cambridge, University Press, 1974. (Such a policy a has a resemblence to centre's (Government of India policy to Kashmir). It lead to wide-spread corruption, inefficiency throughout the Repulics - particularly central Asian Republics were special target. It hurt the local sentiment and the policy of inter reupukic exchange of cader was the answer which Gorbuchov continued and thought fit to pursue as well in the future till the declaration of independence of the Republics.

Before the Russian Revolution, the mullahas played a very dominant role in Central Asian Politics. They were a potential force to be reckoned with till the existence of theocratic state - relationship between religion and politics and the considerable influence they together exerted on the life of the people. However with the intensification of the process of modernization and secularization for about a century, since 1917 revolution, their influence began to decline. The separation of religion and politics struck a heavy blow to their prestige and fundamnetalist ideas. The mullahas too changed during the social transformation phase and economic transition. The result was that mullahas adopted a realistic approach and evolved a new role for themselves - that they could be utilized for the national interest. There is, however, no question of the mullahas regaining all the power and prestige that once they enjoyed in Central Asia.

Central Asian states have achieved mass literarcy and have gone through cultural revolution initiated by communist regimes after the revolution. A new modern intelligentsia - technical personnel, professionals - Doctors, scientists, educationist has come up. From tribal and feudal economy, modern states with resources, industrial potential have emerged armed even with nuclear teeth.

The deliberate attempt by western media to present the phenomenon couched in a terminology of distortion is prompted by henious designs. Turkey after Kemalist Revolution remained intact as secular state though diluted in certain aspects. There can be no going back on the position already attained after gruesome struggle of decades. It must be kept in mind that in early part of this century there was a strong pan-Turkic current in Turkey - to rally under one flag turkish people of Central Asia and Turks. In this case Turkey might be tempted to play the Islamic and Pan Turkish card. Whatever the bitterness of the past, the central Asian Muslims will find it easier to communicate with Turkey than with Iran and Pakistan. Turkey assumes the model for Asian Republics. The sentiment of Pan-Turkism has been a strong and in early 19th century and even after Revolution of 1917 some central Asian Republics attempted for the creation of a common Turkic Union, all the central Asian Republics apart from Tajikistan speak turcik dialect. "Central Asian leaders are overwhelmingly ex-communist. Althougth they have cautiously embraced the cultural aspects of the Islamic revival that has swept through the region in

recent years - and are adament that they do not want blindly to ape Russia or the West - they are also determined that they do not want to copy Iran or Saudi Arabias model of Islamic orthodoxy. They hope that by aspiring to Turkeys mix of moderate Islam and Western economics - the 'Turkish way' as Mr Ismail Karimov, the Uzbek President, calls it - they will stave of the threat of radical Islam. (Gillan Tet, Stene Le vine and Jhon Muny Brown - (Financial Times) - (The Times of India, New Delhi Feb. 17, 1992). Besides Central Asian Republics are motivated by economic considerations, these considerations mainly dominate their foreign policy. Thus the central Asian republics are today forging their foreign policy to meet their economic objectives and assert their political independence, "President Karimov's statement in a recent interview is significant. Stating that while Uzbikistan's close relations with Iran and Saudi Arabia were "rooted in history", he made clear, "If you ask me I shall tell you that I prefer Trukey. What Uzbikistan wishes to achieve is a parallel with (Kemal) Ataturks principles" (Rajirsen - "Central Asian Republics" - "Economic considerations dominate foreign policy". Indian Express, Feb 1992).

Patric Cockburns Report in LOS Angles Times : "Communist Party leaders in the five central Asian Republics have survived the Gorbachev era much better than their counterparts in Russia or the Baltic..... Soviet power never wholly submerged traditional links of family clan and region. These loyalties are now central to keeping the old pastry machines in control. Economics remian tied to Russia as the central Asian supply primary products such as cotton, grain, gold and tobacco and receive back manufactured goods. This economic inter-dependence between central AAsia and Russia will be almost impossible to break. (Resurgence of Islam in central Asia - 'Muslim India" - 109, January, 1992 - P. 45).

The current topic today in the internatioal arena is - whether emerging Islamic block is practicable and eventual. However such an idea is irrelevent, keeping in view the history, culture and geopolitics of almost all middle Eastern countries and North African Islamic countries. The divisions among them became and peaked on the eve of western war against Iraq. Barring Yemen, Jordan, Libya, Sudan and the P.L.O., more or less all the Isiamic countries in the middle east and beyond either fought along or supported west against Iraq.

The Arab League stands dissolved for all practical purposes. The same is the fate of the organisation of Islamic countries.

"Apart from the cleavages of current history there is nothing to indicate that Islam could be the basis for unity of the Muslim nations. In fact, nationality in itself is a contradiction of 'Dar Ul-Islam' ..... The very existence of nation states in the Islamic societies negate Islam as the basis of any alliance. The prophets notion of 'Ummah' (Ummah) ended three decades after his death when in 661 the Arab Governor of Syria, Mu-Awiyah murdered the last Caliph related to the prophet and founded the first Islamic state. After that there were Arab, Turcik, and Persian empires, none that can be categorised as Islamic empires.....the Ottoman empire represented the darkest period in the Arab History. (The Mythical Arc of Islam - Sunil Adam - The Pioneer January 26, 1992.) The emergence of a cohesive block having characteristics of homogenity, encapsulating Turkey, Iran, Central Asian Republics, Afghanistan and Pakistan, historically, culturally, or strategically speaking, there are bleak prospects. The running thread of community inter-linking them is that they are all non-Arab. Their peoples speak different languages, belong to different nationalities, often involved in infights and interecine relationship, Turkey is more inclined to join the European market, seeking membership in the EEC.

The central Asian Republics would not shed or cast away the modernizing tendencies that communism has imported or regress politically and ecnomically.

It is difficult for the central Asian Republics to move closer to the autocratic regimes of West Asia and fundamentalist set ups of Iran and Saudi Arabia. It is important to note that in majority of these all Republics communists are still in power. There may be attempts by Pakistan and Iran to form a block, but such endeavours of these countries have so far met stiff resistance. Kazakhstan's nuclear is not a strong temptation to Pakistan, it is flawed as the Pakistan does possess such a capability already.

Islam has the most militant traditions of equality, brotherhood and Democracy. To-day, even, Islam is becoming a vehicle for ushering Democracy. The Islamic block is a far distant cry as a tenable concept as Pan-Arabism of the 50's and 60's was.

The unique demographic composition in the erstwhile Soviet

Union is disproportionate to the minorities - Muslim and Christains. A considerable percentage of muslim minorities populates the Volga region; Tartars and Kazakha in Kazan, in Siberia and Georgia. Proportionately the christain minority ranging from 10 to 20% inhabit the Central Asian Republics and have parity 50%: 50% in Kazakistan - a highly industrialised republic with largest territory and about 2 crores of population. It is difficult to think of migration and an exclusive separation from the Common Wealth of Independent States. The future prospectes of these republics is a necessity - to be linked by railways with Pakistan for mutual cooperation and trade and a strip of the modernizing of 50 miles of small patch of Wakhan separates Pakistan from the republic of Tajkistan and other central republics. On his visit to Kazakistan the Chairman of Kazakistan republic was forthright about restoration of fundamentalist formidable state in Afghanistan, a hurdle for future relations between the two regions. Pakistan was responsive and renewed the dialogue on Afghanistan and readily showed acceptance to the United Nations solution of implementing joint proposals on Afghanistan imbroglio Najib in the future set up. Central Asian Republics are connected through railways to the whole of Europe. The future scheme, the shape of things to come is rail connection via Tajkistan through Bachistan of Pakistan and approach to the Karachi Sea Port. This has been the wish of Russian Czars to reach hot waters but remains unfulfilled till today but there are chances that it will be fulfilled and lead to vital cooperation between Pakistan and Central Asia. The other trade link with Itran is via Afghanistan. It also entails linking Afghanistan by transit route with the Iranian port of Bandar Abbas on the gulf, so that Afghanistan's exports reach the wider world market more easily than ever been possible before. The issue of the distribution of waters of the Helmand river, which flows from the mountains of Central Afghanistan into south east Iran is a bone of contention. The entry of Kazakistan and of 50 miles of small path of Wakhan separates Pakistan from the republic of Tajkistan and other central republics.

On his visit to Kazakistan the Chairman of Kazakistan republic was forthright abut restoration of fundamental state of Afghanistan of future relations between the two regions. Pakistan was responsive and renewed the dialogue on Agahanistan and readily showed acceptance to the United Nations solution of implementing joint proposals on

Afghanistan embroigo and has been showing inclination to accommodate Najib in the future set up. Central Asian Republics are connected through railways to the whole of Europe. The future scheme shape of things to come is rail connection via Tajkistan through Baluchistan of Pakistan and approach to the Karachi Sea Port. This has been the wish of Russian Czars to reach hot waters but remains unfulfilled till today but there are chances that it will be fulfilled and lead to vital cooperation between Pakistan and Central Asia. The other trade link with Iran is via Afghanistan. It also entails linking Afghanistan by transit routs with the Iranian port of Bandar Abbas on the gulf, so that Afghanistan's exports reach the wider world market more easily than ever been possible before. The issue of distribution of waters of the Helmand river, which flows from the mountains of Central Afghanistan into south east Iran - is a bone of contention. The entry of Kazakistan and other republics into organization of Islamic co-operation consisting of Pakistan, Iran and Turkey is also a significant fact and a new diamension to the future development in the region. Further the objects which motivate regions foreign policy is modernism and pro-Turcik and shorn of any fundamentalist eagerness.

Pakistan has been responding to the new development in the Centra Asian republics with exuberance and pseudo secular ferver and so called neo Pan-Islamism - the Islamic least - a defensive mechanism to the modernist and secular entity of the republics and to ward off its impact on semi-fundamentalist, Shariat ridden fabric of Pakistan. India is moving and reacting to this new phenomenon with snails pace. Though our relationship with the central republics was shrouded in thousands years of history and culture, from Central Asia we received Aryans who settled here and gave forth to the religio-philsophic thought and Upnishads. Before Christain era Buddhism emanated from India and Kashmir. Buddhist scholars spread throughout central Asia.

After Gr-eeks, the Sakas, the Kushans and the Turks came to India from or through central Asia and they had tremendous effect on the mind and culture. We have a saka calander. Once in the annuals of history we had a common civilization 2000 years ago; central Asia, North India and Iran. The Indian thought symbolized by Buddhism held away over the entire region from Samarkand and from Kashger to Kashmir. The name 'Bukhara' is derived from 'Vihara' a monastry.

With the arab conquest of Central Asia Islam penetrated in the area. The dynasties that ruled India for about 700 years - the Khaljis, the Taghulakas the Lodhies, the Surs and the Moghuls - were related to this region in one way or the other.

Central Asian scholars, systiccs visited India. In the sphere of architecture, music, painting and even poetry too, in the medical science, the 'Kanun' of the great Avicema of Samarkand became the basic text throughout India and rest of the world. His philosophy particularly his beilef in the transmigration of souls was significantly Indian. The great scientist and geographer Abdul Rehman Al-Beruni, the Central Asian who was the first in the world to trace the history of Buddhism in Central Asia authored and summarized rendering of Gita from Sanskrit original. One of the greatest poet of India Mirza Ghalib made Central Asian persian his vehicle of expression. Today Indian foreign policy framers are in a fix to pick up the thread of this age old relation in the new context. Under this new struggle for Central Asia, it seems they are full of hesitancy and reluctance and not dynamic. The 'Nehruvian model' of Central Asian Republics has been forgotten. Nehru immeidately after the indepence of India convened Asian Conference in Delhi and in his broadcast after joining the government in 1946, he greeted the central Soviet republics and added that the region and republics "are our neighbours in Asian and inevitably we shall have to undertake many common tasks and have to do much with each other". The present Govt. of India is to make endeavour for a durable relationship between India and the republics - valuable to both sides having accepted these basic premise, they should agree on new formalities to relations matching the conditions. But still India's responses are not clear and vigorous in forging these new relations. There are reasons but for exploring new frontiers we should shun ostrich lika attitudes.

Chapter - VIII

Bibliography.

1- A.M. Coienhon : (Refutation des Materialists, Paris 1992)

2- Jamal Ud-Dinal AFGHANI : 'Pan - Islamism - Alurwat-Al Wuthca (Dar - al- Sultanata, Calcutta, Mushir-I-Kaiser, Lucknow), Beruit 1933. P. 489 - 94 and Passim)

3- Hali : 'Musaddas Hali

4- Humaynh Kabir : Contribution by Syed Mohmad, Iqbal's ed. 'Javeed Nama' Lahore 1954. Page 63 - 93

5- K.K. Nizami : Abul Kalam Azad And the thirty pages of his India Wins Freedom. Idarah - I - Adabiyat - I - Delhi Qasim Jan Street Delhi.

6- S.A. Zenkovsky : Pan Turkis and Islam in Russia Combridge, Mass 196.

7- Maulana Ubadullaha Sindhi. : "Shah Wali" Ullaha Aur Anki Siasi Tahrik Lahore 1952 Page 110.

8- Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: Khatbat, Lahore, 1944 P. 199-202

9- Zia-Gokalp : Turkish Nationalism And Western Civilization english translation Niyari Berkes, London, 1959 Page 226 - 233

10- Allama Iqbal : Reconstruction of Religious thoughts on Islam, idem (Rumiz-Bekhudi) Lahore, n.d. 104-118 english translation.

11- Arberry. 'The Mystries of Self-lessness' London, 1953 (Page 11-12)

12- Iqbal: "Khilafat-I-Islamin in Fikir-I-Iqbal, Hyderabad 1944 Page 57 - 88.

13- Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi : Sources of Indian Tradition, ed w. The Dey-Brayet Newyork 1958 P. 827

14- Lenin. Collected Works, Vol.31. P49 P.P Moscow.

15- Joseph Stalin : 'On the Nationalities Question P. House, Khetwadi Main Road Bombay 1942

16- Paul-R. Brass: Ethnicity And Nationalism. (Theory And Comparison) P. 312. Saga Publications, New Delhi.

17. Paul-R. Brass. Language, Religion And Politics in North India Combridge University Press 1944.

Chapter IX

ON SUFIS AND SUFISM

The problem of Man in Adishankara's, Rumi's And Iqbal's philosophy is the main issue which constitutes the theme of Vendantic Philosophy, of Mathnawi, including thinking of Iqbal. The idea of the perfect man has been part of the teachings of the mystics, Sufis from the very begining.

Sufism is to be interpreted in the historical context. It has not remained static in any phase of history, and is linked with the Socio-political revolutions of Times. In the modern phase attempts to combine man and science in humanistic synethesis have an ambigious character. "This is why the task of arriving at a new synthesis of man, Science and humanism remains relevant." Interaction of social factors and logical development led to the most intimate mysteries of human existance, as it raises the most complicated problems of ethics and humanism. Science is not all pervasive to solve the mysteries of the mind that lies beyond its reach. In this backdrop social essence of the individual assumes importance. "The real thing in the spiritual discipline is discipline of the lower soul (nafs). If a man cares about his lower self (nafs) his inner self gets integrated and coherent, if he neglects it, his inner self becomes disturbed and disintegrated". (Kashf-ul-Mahjud, PP 196-197) - AL-HUJURI Dr. R.N. Nicholson, London, 1936 (P 37).

Sankara the great sage, held in a tone of great veneration was one of the tallest of world's idealist philisophers. His Advita Vedanta is one of the richest contributions India has made to the treasury of human knowledge. This philosophical concept advocated by Sankara is the acme of Indias idealist philosophy. The saint philospher Sankra says, "The reality cannot be grasped by reason. Reason is a lawyer and will prove anything we wish, for every argument it can find equally strong

and opposite argument and its upshoot is scepticism that weakens all forces of character and undermines all values of life. It is not logic that we need. It is insight, the faculty of grasping at once the essential soul of the irrelevant, the eternal out of the temporal, the whole out of the part. How is this knowlege possible? All our knowledge comes from the senses and reveals not the external reality itself, but our sensory adaptation. By sense, then we can know only in its grab of space, time and cause. Our way of perceiving will for ever be inextricably mingled with the thing perceived.

According to Hindu Religion; "God is one eternal without begining and without end, acting by free will, almightly, all wise, living, giving life, ruling preserving, one who in his sovereignty is unique, beyond all likeness and that he does not resemble anything, nor anything resemble him" by AL-Beruni's India from Patanjali. With this the similarity between Hinduism and Sufism is very clear. Its main theme constitutes essence of Sufism. Towards the end of classical period, Jainism was losing its influence while Buddhism was assimilated by Hindusim. In this period the Vishnu and Siva systems of Hinduism were developed. They taught that the Brahman of the Upnishads is the God Siva or Vishnu. Under the Influence of Islam monotheistic dectrines arose in the 10th Century.

The essence of stirring thought advocated by ancient seers underlines this humanistic conception of man and outlook:-

"Guhyam brahma tad ideam vo bravimi, Na manusat Sreshthataram hi Kinchit" (This is the sectete doctrine I reveal to you that there is no other great truth than man). Dr. Radha Krishnan has commented on this as follows : There is nothing higher than man in this world. God transcendment is beyond us. God immanet is in man". (Marxism, Religion, Hindutva - A.B. Bardhan).

The idea of the perfect man has been part of the teachings of the Sufis from the very begining. The conception of "al-insan - al Kamil" was first evolved by Ibn-Arabi. Rumi is a conglomeration of all schools. His idea was to teach, that the perfect man is a synthesis of all levels of reality. The perfect man "says Rumi," is neither so pure and free from his 'I' that you can see your own reflection in him as mirror.

(Rumi - Mulana Jalal-ud-din)
"Mathnavi-I-Mana", Vol IV-2/38

"So man has come into this world for a particular task, says Rumi and recalls a well known 'ayat' from Koran (XXXIII.72) : We offered the trust to the heavens and the earth and the hills, but they shrank from bearing it and were afraid of it. A man assumed it".

Sufism prompts a man to embark upon a path of self perfection. Sufi should go through two stations - destruction or fans, and resurrection or Baqa.

"The concept of perfect man in the works of Rumi, Iqbal : "Only the perfect man is free from all authorities including the prophets. In the parable about Abraham and Gabriel, the former rejects the angles offer of help, saying that prophets and 'Gods' messengers are necessary as intermediaries between ordinary people and God, but some one like him Abraham, who has direct vision, need not heed words coming from outside, not even if spoken by angles".

(Mathnawi-I-Mana Vol. IV. 2974/2979)

Rumi explains how man's free will can be consistent with the omnipotence of the absolute. Chastity would be worth nothing if there were no tempetations by Sin". If there be no accursed Satan who tempts." Rumi's perfect man is devolutionalist. For all the inconsistencies in Rumi's views, there is no doubt that many of his versas are filled with a rebellious spirit and that he respects man's creative activities, and exhorts to pursure activities".

(The works of Rumi And Iqbal, Marietta, Stepanyats).

The conception of Iqbal's perfect man is active and dynamic. Man is God's fellow fighter. According to Iqbal, man has to evolve human relations. He was drawn to the genius of AL-Ghazzali as against the traditionalits for a time but rejected him for his orthodoxy. Iqbal was dazzled by the emphasis of Avicenna on dynamic movement, as the inner core of universe as against the prevalent - view of static mass. In 'Rumi' he saw an organic faith in the capacity of man to ascend to the highest illuminations. The creation is still in continuous process, the man is partaker in this. The Koran indicates the possibility of other creators than God:-

"Blessed is God. The best of those who create."

(Koran, Ch. 23 V-14)

The moral and religious ideal of man is not self negation but self-formation. This view is quite contrary to all forms of pantheistic sufism which regards absorption in a universal life of soul as the final aim and salvation of man. To quote Syed Wahid-UD-Din, an eminent authority on mystcism, "unlike Mujadidi, Iqbal was not as much interested in the preservation of the law as in the prevservation of what he called "Khudi' -------Life's affirmation and not its negation becomes for Iqbal the ultimate human value.

When we come to 'Javid-Nama', we find complete Iqbal's emancipation from theological restraints. In his journey through the spheres under the guidance 'Rumi' he meets Hindu sages and figures of non-Islamic religiosity on an equal footing. The inclusion of Mahatma Buddha in the Camp of the prophets, (Marx is a prophet without a Gabriel but possessing Book) is all the more striking since Gutmas, (Marx's) is not God oriented perspective. (Syed Wahid-ud-Din, Iqbal and Mysticism, studies in Islam Vol (V) F. 180. Indian Institute of Islamic studies New Delhi).

"Iqbal borrowed from Rumi only that which could give support to the dynamic approach to life. The perfect man as described by Iqbal is essentially an active person, one who is God's fellow fighter." For the Sufi Rumi, the main steps towards perfection are faith in God, the search for God and apprehension of God through the understanding of the depth of one's own soul. Iqbal adds to this fourth step, realization which consists in constant practice of justice and mercy".

(Book Review - K.I. Mehndara New Age' 15-1-1989).

In Iqbal's concept, man can be creator himself. In Iqbal's poem's man says:

Though did Ist create the night and I
made the lamp
Though did Ist create the day and I
made the cup,
Though did Ist create the deserts, monuments
and forests,
I produced the orchards, garden and groves,
It is who turn stone into mirror
And it is I who turn poison into an antidote.

This philosophy is deeply enterenced in Vedantism, Sufism, Buddhism, Agnosticism of Egypt and Syria and Neoplatonist speculation of latter Greeks and Christan works.

"Truth is one interpretations are many".

(Rigveda)

"Let noble thoughts come to us from all directions in the Universe".

"May the Earth that bears people speaking varied languages, with various religious rites according to the place of abode; Enrich me with wealth in a thousand streams, like a milich cow that never fads".

(Vedic texts)

Adi Shanakar's conception of man was humanist, full of love, all man in the universe in cosmic fraternity in consonance with vedanatic teachnings, Ibn-Arabis was, 'Insan-Kamil'. Rumi's perfect man is devotionalist, and Iqbal's concept of man is an active, conscious of realization (Khudi).

The greateness of the Sufi's is the greatness of loving heart. For the Sufi's love is the core of the Universe. To devote ones life in other peoples services, without any distinction of race, colour or religion, is the sole ambition and creed of a sufi.

Sufi Poet Mulana Rumi says:

To win peoples heart is noblest of all pilgrimages,
For a human heart is better than thousands of Kabbas,
After all Kabba was constructed only by Khalil,
Abraham and Azar,
While heart is abode of almighty.

(Translated from original persian) (Kalmullaha)

The central theme of sufism is the concept of love as it has been evolved by Sufi thinkers and mystics. Love is the highest attribute of God.

Sheikh Mohi-UD-Din Ibn-Arabi observes that in the Quran love has been interpreted as "excessive affection" (ashadd-I-Hubb).

Rumi emphasizes that love alone can take the earthly body to the

spiritual skies and loftiest stage of exaltation may thus be attained.

The Quran describes the blessed saints in the paradise in the following terms:

"He loveth them and they love him" (V.54)

Here in lies the support for the sufi doctrine of love, the founder of which is reported to be the great woman saint, Rabi'ah-aL-Basari.

The Sufi poet Sadi says:

Love needs no monastry or taveren,
Wherever we look we see the light of beloved face.
Mystique is nothing but service to mankind;
it is not counting beeds and wearing robes.

"The emergence of the communal organisations - R.S.S. Khalistani, Jametis as important political forces, has forced all of us to sit up and think. Communalism, ethnocentrism, traditionalism and obscurantism of various kinds have surged forward from the deep seated fear complexes of the different communities - to fill in the resultant void. "The communal leaders have merely supplied the suitable enemy images to be batted: for B.J.P. it is the Muslim, for the Kaslistanis and Jamati's - the Hindu, for some ethnocentric outfit - some other neighbouring ethnos."

(India and the world - Today
Pardip Bakshi
Party Life No.10
Oct. 1991, P2).

The preaching of the saints, Sufis broke the monopoly of the learned and the priviliged. The teachings of Chaitanya, Kabir, Nanak, Namdeo, Baba Farid, Tulsidas, Chisti, Nizan-ud-din Aulia and many others in the pantheon of saints, are an integral part of our glorious humanist heritage. Spontaneous Socio-economic changes have not and will not, automatically give rise to a tolerant non-communal, secular and democratic consciousness. And it is here, that the role of Sufis and their teachings comes in. It is our duty to meet the communalists and the ethno chauvnistic claim tobe sole representative of our heritage, squarely on the face.

Kabir consideres love to be greater than all ritual than all learning.

In the presence of this all pervading love, all differences between high and low, hindu or Muslim, lose their meaning, Kabir says :

"The ornaments are all from the same gold,
Why differentiate between them?
He is the same, call him Mahadeva or Mohammad,
Brahma or Adam,
They are vessels made of the same earth,
though the names given are different!"

Kabir says, they both have strayed from the path; Neither of them has found Rama.

To carry forward this glorious humanist heritage, little has been done, achieved and much remains. There can be no going back on this path. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan has well said:

"---------I believe that modernism consists in preserving whatever is not of value. There are so many things which have come down to us and which do not constitute the glory of our culture or our Country. There are others which are vital factors and which sustain our Country."

(Radha Krishnan : Our Heritage)

Chapter - IX

Biblography

1- Dr. R.N. Nicholson : Kashf - Ul-Mahjul, P.P. 196, 197-AL - Hujuri.

2- AL - Beruni : India from Patanjali.

3- A.B. Bardhan : Marxim, Religion Hindutwa.

4- Maulana Jalu D-Din : Rumi Mathnavi - S- Mana, Vol. IV-2/38 Vol IV. 2974/2979

5- Marietta setpanyats : The works of Rumi and Iqbal. Muslim Philosophy.

6- Sayed Wahid Ud-Din: 'Iqbal and Mysticism, Studies in Islam vol. (V) P. 180 Indian Institute of Islamic Studies New Delhi.

7- K.T. Mehandara : Book Review : New Age 15-1-89

8- Radha Krishanan: Our Heritage.

9- Arberry: Arthur. An Introduction to the History of Sufism.

10- Mohd. Abdul Qasim : AL Ghazali on Islamic Guidance (transwita a Commentary (Malaysia) University K

11- Attar, Farid UD-Din (12th Century : Mystics: Muslim Saints and Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966.

Chapter X

THE RISHI ORDERS OF KASHMIR (NUND RISHI AND LALLA)

The poetry of the medieval Kashmiri Saint poets is full of rich social content. The name of Nunda-Rishi and Lal Ded particularly stands out for the note of revolt against social tyranny, communal divisions, superstition, and the hypocrisies and formalities which had crept into religion. Thus Nunda Rishi and Lal Ded turned their back on differences and divisions of all sorts. They exalted love as being greater than all learning and scholarship. The basis of their philosophy was bhakti. They were influenced both by sufism and Vedanta. Both have no use for learning without love. They do not care for external forms and shows of religion.

The decay in the intellectual enlightment and religious bigotry in certain sections of Kashmiri Muslims are the main factors which prove hurdle in the future historical development of Islamic, liberal, Sufi and rational thought. The time has come when the younger gneration has to be told, in clear language, what was really noble and progressive in our past, and what was reactionary, oppressive and unjust. They must know what they have to be proud of and what has to be renounced and rejected.

With the advent of Islam in the Kashmir, the chapter of asimilation and interaction was opened between Hinduism and Islam. As a result a popular religious movement began. This movement produced two great Sufi saints, Nunda Rishi and Lalla-mystic Bhaktas. In their highest spirituality, these mystics transcended religious differences between Hindulism and Islam.

These saints were apostles of Hindu Muslim Unity. By their

message of love, they attempted to resolve the historical tension extent between the Hindus and Muslims in Kashmir. Their legacy aught to be tried and practised by the Hindus and Muslims of the present day Kashmir.

While the Seminar itself attracted worthy scholars on the subject Sufism - its history, philosophy, its contemporary relevance but it is wanting on the relations between tradition and progress. Mysticism is a dynamic concept. The tradition is not of much help, if it stands still and ceases to grow. The present strife in Kashmir poses a serious threat to our age long traditions.

Mysticism represented by Nund Rishi and Lalla is free in spirit. Mystic should chafe against the communal barriers. Mysticism is against fundamentalism of every hue-Hindu and Muslim fundamentalism. Mysticism should help us, how to liberate ourselves from dogmatic doctrinnaire sleep.

BHAKTI : (Devotion): In the Vedanta and other Indian systems, love of God, expressed in prayer and meditation and ultimately in total surrender to the divine nature Bhakti came to prominence during the medieval theistic period of Indian thought, its philosophical basis was chiefly provided by "Ramanuja" (C 1100 A.D.) for about half a millennium from the mid 6th century, shaiva and Vishnava saints and their followers practized and propagated Bhakti in the country side and went to piligrim centres singing and dancing. In Upanishadic thought embodying monostic ideas early Buddhism of the Buddha, the rise of the Bhakti and Tantricism in the post-Gupta centuries is evident. Bhaktim Yoga is a method of attaining release through love and loyalty to the God. Bhakti is a series of succession of mental efforts at religious reliazation begining with ordinary workship and ending in a supreme intensity of love for the Ishevara. Bhakti Yoga is divided into two stages, the preparatory one and the supreme one. Since the late 6th century the role of Bhakti in Vishnuism and Savism is discernable. It had all pervasive influence on Tantrics. Bhakti movement made a great thrust in the north. R.N. Nandia's latest work "Social Roots of Religion in Ancient India", takes up the issue of origin of Shavit monasticism. The Upanishdic thought embodying monistic ideas, early Buddhism, the use of Bhakti and tantricism need the paramount necessity of a critical analysis. The decaying feudalism, oppressive Brahamanic grip over

society, provided a new divine sanction to economic and spiritual exploitation and the preservation of stagnant, fossilized institutions based on caste oppression, idolatry, subjection of women, Hindu-Muslim rivalry, child marriage and Sati. On the other hand, there was a great religious awakening among the down trodden Hindu and Muslim masses culminating in what is called the Bhakti movement which played a positive life affirming role in the sub-continent. The spiritual leadership passed into the hands of Kabir, seva, Dadu and Tukaram etc.

The Bhakti movement was dominated by an intense religious outlook, but it served a positive social purpose. "Truth alone is natural, "Kabir preached." "There is nothing nobler than man," Chaityana declared: "Faith in God was meaningless without love of man. "The Bhakti schools spread all over India and the Bhakti cult in its impersoanl and personal forms cultivated the popular mind. The essence of the Puranic and Tantric systems and the religions of the 'Bhakit' was lifting of the whole lower life and impressing upon it of the values of spirit. Ramanand, who was responosible for the Bhakti movement of the north, Kabir, Tulsi and others owing allegience to him. There were affiliations between south Indian Savism and Vaishnuaism and hte forms of these two sects as practised in Kashmir and other parts of the north. The spirit pervaded Sindh also, as the lives of Shah Karim and Shah Inyat and the poems of Shah Abdul Latif show.

Kashmir: Continuty and Progress of Mysticism:

At the end of the classical period, Kashmir gained a new position as the meeting place of traditional Hindu thought and culture and the new Islamic thought and culture. Nund Rishi, Lalladevi the lady mystic of the 14th century, whose monistic utteranaces is the best representative of Kashmirs contribution to the corpus of the poetry of Vedanta and Bhakti in the Inian languages of the many orders, the Rishi, founded in Kashmir by Nund Rishi was the most popular, and in spiritual outlook and exercises, nearest to the Hindu school of Bahkti. Both founded their faith upon the principle of pantheistic monism (Advaita, a Wahadat-ul-Wajud) Both followed similar methods of self-control and purification (Yoge and dhikr). Prof. Jayala Kaul's 'Lad Ded', a scholarly study on Kashmiri mysticism and Bhakti

movement in particular, suffers from the main weakness, neglecting the Muslim influence on the development of Bhakti cult. Dr. Mohibbul Hassan's statement that "influence of Islam can also be discerned on Advaita Savism as represented by the teachings of Lalla Ded."

The most promient features of the popular movement in the area was the background of Hindu-Muslim relations, as a result, many of these popular Saint-singers became the apostles of a synthesis and rapproachment, aided by common points in advaita and Sufism although Dr. A. Hassan has maintained that syeds were averse to "Rishis"

The Chistiya order, founded by Kh. Moeen-ud-Din was in spiritual outlook and exercises, nearest to the school of Hindu Bhakti. Both were based upon the principle of pantheistic monism (advaita, Whadat-ul-Wajud). Both regarded song and music as an effective vehicle to the inducement of mystic states-contemplation and unification.

KASHMIR : THE ALL EMBRACING PHILOSOPHY OF LOVE;

An opinion is still widely current that at the end of medieval glory and begginning of 18th century till 19th century, Kashmiri culture was languishing in decadence and moral and intellectual degradation. True, there was decadence, but it is as true, that at that period, Kashmir went through a philosophical and religious renaissance, which trasncended the local boundaries to galvanise sub-continents thought and stirred it towards human existence and personality.

The thrust of sufi activities began only towards the end of 14th century. The ideological basis of sufism-unity of being (Wahadat-ul-Wajud) advocated by Ibn-Arabi remains intact. Like Buddhism, sufism in Kashmir, split into two schools of thought orthodox trend, its proponents were syeds migrated from persia and central Asia and an indigenous Sufi order known as the Rishi order-preached the all embracing love and encouraged peaceful co-existence. The orthodox trend consorted with the kings, feudal lords, nobles, dabbled in politics, perpetuated succession to the saints and their families; mysticism degenerated into occultism, passivism, grave worship and saintworship.

Mysticism in Kashmir is unique in being the amalgam of Hindu mysticism, Buddhist influences and Sufism of Islam. Kashmiri Sufi poetry is true refelction of this stream. The Kashmiri mystics, as already indicated by me were very much influenced by Saivites of Kashmir and liberal and general attitudes of Rumi. The theme of their mystic philosophy was that happiness lies in Faqre (poverty). In the houses of worldly men there is nothing but sadness and sorrow. In strict adherence to the main precepts of "Kashj-ul-Mahjud", authored by Imam Ali Hujuri, the Rishis of valley were men of prolonged sadness and deep reflection.

The cult of grave worship which had developed in the 14th century was a negation of the true spirit of Islam. Sheikh Nasir-ud-Din Chirag of Delhi (Khairul-Majalis edited by Khaliq Nizami, M.U. Aligarh) condemned grave worship but did not disapprove visits to the graves of saints. Ibn-i-Taimiyya, on the issue reached an extreme where few could agree with him, least of all the mystics. In the dark phases of history it is concomitent and there are precedent that Muslim society drifts away from its pure and simple ways of life and thought, and religion becomes a mere formality, cramped by hair-splitting theology and deadned by dogmatic formalism. The pacificism of the early mystic orders degenerates into passivism. Mystic customs and practices lose their spiritual significance and become a license for loose behaviour.

Rishis of Kashmir propogated love, faith toleration and sympathy which included even the enemy. Higher mysticism is nothing but service of humanity.

With the penetration of Islam in Kashmir, concilation and co-existence between the various cultural groups was not only a moral and intellectual demand but an urgent social necessity. The Muslim Rishis, however rose to the occasion and released syncretic forces between the various cultural groups, communities of Kashmir and helped in the development of a common cultural outlook.

KASHMIR : THE PHILOSOPHY OF FATE:

Howsoever, Kashmiri mysticism is permeated with gloomy view. Kashmiri Sufi poetry in specific cases is its true reflection and repressentation. Philosophical pessimism seeks to substantiate the thesis that evil is intrinsic to the world as a logical manifestation of its

nature, earthly existence is a vale of tears and a vanity of vanities, death is not a deliverance ftrom earthly suffering (Buddhistic concept) and to seek true being in the transcandental (Moksha), supernatural, super-sensory here after.

The pessimistic conception in mysticism springs from a denial of social, spiritual progress. To take a pessimistic view of the present and future of mankind is merely to deny society's ascent from the lower to the higher and to assume that society is marking time or drifting downward to exinction.

The distorted concept of fatalism (Taqdir), predestination, escapism; these two inter wind concepts, in essence constitute pesimism; proponents of such a philosophy-shams Faqir, Rehman Dar, Ahmad Butwari, Ahad Zargar always mark the ideology of social groups and classes which are past their prime, which are leaving the historical scene or have a presentiment of their inevitable demise. Though this pessimistic assessment of life is supplemented, however, with transcendental optimism. "The actions of the people determine their fate. And no misfortune shall befall you except what your hands have earned. Believing in this fundamental principle the Sheikh Naseer Qalandar remarks at one place :

"As you are, so shall be your rulers.

(Studies on Indo - Muslim Mysticism Khairul Majlis, Khaliq Nizami M.U. Aligarh).

FREEDOM AND NECESSITY :

In early period of Islam, Muslim thinkers wrestled with the problems of free will and predestination. It is the doctrine of freed will and necesstarianism. Religious necesstatianism is, however, a sort of Fatalism. A superior being overrides our wishes and bends us according to will.

(Mills Logic II, P-416)

NAGARJUN'S "SUNYATA"

The mystic concept of predestination is derived from Hindu, Greek, and Buddhist philosophy of Fate (Niyati), the central credo of the 'AJIVIKAS' disciples of Gosalla was: "Nathi-purishare' (human

effort is ineffectual). Everything is determined by the unseen, fathom less forces of we-know-not what. For them belief in free will was vulgar error. (Bhattacharyya K. Studies in philisophy-Calcutta, 1956. p-224, 226). Further, Kashmir Mystic poets have frequently used the term "Sunya" in a incoherent and incomprehensible way a bit distanced from its real genesis and connotation. The term "Shunyavada" (Voism) is a Buddnist concept. It is not a state of mystic non-existence. Nagarjuna (1800) outstanding Buddhist philosopher introduced this term originally theory of relativity propounded by Buddha. Nagarjuna says, everything is real within certain limits. Beyond these limits it is unreal. No denial of the existence of objective world nor acceptance of it. The reality was just the void (Sunya). A form of subjective idealism. Nagarjuna wrote that it cannot be said to exist, it is something intermediate, without cause, inconprehensible, inexpressibly the only suitable word for it being the void "Sunya". It is not mystic nothing (Khina-Khinaya-Kashmiri) leading to Nihilism.

"Madhyamikas interpressed "Sunya' as objective reality is of fundamental importance.... Nagarjuna author of Sunya is explicit incognition of transcendental truth, the only way towards in cognition is knowledge of Samvsti-Satya (practical truth). Nagarjuna points out that without resorting to practical truth the transcendental truth cannot be attained."

(Buddhism-A (Marxist approach) (P.P.H. New Delhi)

The Greek philosophy influenced Islam. The Damasceme Ghalyan (D 743) expressed belief in free will. John b. Safervan (D 145) denied the eternity of heaven and hell.

Mutazllites a school of thought in Islam did not agree that God had predestined the action of man In the scripture there are verses showing that man is a free agent. Great Muslim scholar Iban-Arabi was proponent of unchangeability of Fate and white Jili said, it is liable to change. The Quran has said," ud'uni ast-afib Lakuma (Quran XI, 60)-' Pray unto me I shall accept your prayer. According to Ibn Arabi God granted their prayer, by manifesting himself in their form. Gods will is what they have in them to become. "One of the names of God is Al-Ghani (the independent). When this name is manifest, man appears to be a free agent; while realiy in his "Dhat' he is an adam."

(TAQDIR - Appendix III, Page 249 Studies in Tasawwanj K.S.K. Khan S. Adbbiyat is Delhi).

Rumi explains how man's free will can be consistent with the omnipotence of the absolute. "Chastity would be worth nothing if there were no accursed Satan who tempts. Rumi compares Gods gift to man-freedom of choice and action which can bring reward or punishment; his appeal was used by both orthodox champions of changes.

On examination of philosophical basis of fatalism its exponents attempt to sell possibility for reality, for historical necessity, for fate, for destiny that governs man's will. They identify the regularities of nature with the regularities of society, whereas distinct from nature, people endowed with reason and volition operate, instead of blind elemental forces. Thus sort of mysticism which turns man's ills into something natural and insuperable, suits those who build their well being on the suffering of others.

Spiritual values are most diverse. They include ethical values (like good, justice etc) asethetic values (beauty) scientific knowledge, and also the ideals and standards of human behaviour.

KASHMIR: SUFISM AT THE TURNING POINT:

The intellectual centre mainly related to Sufi thought founded by prince Dara Shukoh turned into a epi - centre of ideological battles, whose shock waves were felt all over the sub-continent.

Dara Shukoh was a disciple of Mulla Shah Qadri (Badak-Shani). They echoed the ideas of Tasawwuf Iban-Arabi (1165-1240). Mulla Shah reflected the authority (Taqlid). He believed in essential unity of God (Wahadat-al-Wajud), devoid of every attribute, quality and relation. According to this concept there is only one existence and limitations are not realities; Ibn-Arabi was a monist whose opinion was that all forms of religious belief were relatively true. He was protagonist of religion of love, "Whatever way loves, camels take that is my religion and my faith is love." (Ibn-Arabi, Tarjumrul-Ashwaq, Nicholson R.A. Aliterary history of Arabs (Cambridge 1930, P 463).

Mulla Shah the teacher of Dara was not formalist and rituaist. He stated his views: "O, you who have faith in the Real, do not go near

ritual prayer (Namaz) in the state of intoxication (Sakr) and bewilderment (Masti) under limitations, the state of intoxication is higher than the rendering of prayers.... For if the bewilderment is for wordly and profane then the approach to prayer is forbidden, so that prayer may not be polluted and this is a condition of honouring prayer. But if the intoxication is transcedent, then again approach to prayer is forbidden, for in this case it is showing respect to intoxication. When the prayed one and the carpet of prayer disappear, who reads the prayer. "(Dara Shukoh disseminated his ideas of mysticism through his writings, of which Majma-al-Baharin (the meeting of two oceans) and Sirr-I

Akbar the great secret, a translation of the Upnishads, are the most prominent. Dara and Mulla Shah his teacher were condemned as heretics by a certain section of Mullas. Daras execution gave a serious set back to this school of thought.

The other luminary, an active exponent of this trend was Mahsun Fani, author of great treatize, "Dabi-Stani-Mazahib; sort of study of comparative religions and the varieties of religious experiment.

He was a Kashmiri, and Academy of Kashmir culture has traced his grave at Gurgari Mohalla. Fani was a close collaborator of "Sarmad's philosophical postulates, Sarmad was a free thinker, mystic, interesting personality. He; Mohsin, Sarmad were pillars of Dara's mystic thought. Sarmad was executed by Auramgzeb, Fani was denounced for his idea. This mystic liberal school was severly, vigourously countered by Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi whose teachings may be traced back to Ibn-i-Taimiya- (1263-1328), a professor of Hambali law at Damascus. He was an exege who attacked Greek Philosophy.

The idealogue and teacher of Hazrat Mujadid and Sarhindi was Sheikh Yugub Sarfi (b 928 H), an erudite Scholar, Muhaddis, belonged to Kubravi order, Sarfi was a prominent literary and political figure in the history of sub-continent. This school of thought associated with Shuhiyyah led by Sheikh Ala-ud-din Dowhab Samnani, and Sheikh Ahmed Sirhindi was its ideological dynamo. They believed in two existences (viz of God an a-yan) and one Dhat.

Shiekh Ahmed Sirhindi (b 1563-4, d 1624-25), fell in line with Ghazalli philosophical disposition stated in his tract, "Al Mungidh min al Dhalal,' that the philosophers had plagarized the science of medicine

and astronomy from the books of the prophets, extracted the knowledge of the properities of medicines from their pages, and learnt culture and morals from the Sufia (who were always the followers of prophets. Sheikh asked, "If every novelty was an innovation and every innovation error, then how could any innovation be regarded as good or porper, for according to the tradition, every innovation, without exception, supersedes laws and precepts, and hence every inovation is bad."

(Mohammad Mian, Ulma-i-Hind Ka Shandar Mazi Vol. 1, P -174) He preferred the Nawshandhi order of mysticism because it upheld meticulous obedience to religious law (Sharait) as above mystic discipline Knowledge. He repudiated the concept of (Wahadat-ul-Wajud) panthetistic Monism and preached the theory of the unity of attributes (Wahadat-ul-Shudud). Dara Shakuhs, Mulla Shah Qadris, Mohsin Fani produced a reaction of which Sirhindi was the strongest exponent and his ideologue being Sheikh Sarfi, between the death of Sheikh Ahmed in 1625 and that of Aurangzeb in 1707; the total collapse and failure of the two schools was amply demonstrated. Amdist Chaos, disorder and disintegration of Moghul empire the third school of Muslim thought flourished. Its main proponent was Shah Wali-ullah.

Chapter - X

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. J.K. Cultural Academy : "Nund Reshi"
2. Prof. J.L. Kaul : 'LAL DED' Sahitya Academy New Delhi.
3. Dr. V. Raghven : The Saint Singers of India. Publication Division.
4. M. Amin Kamil : Ruhani Falsafa (Kashmiri) JK Academy.
5. Sir Richard C. Temple : World of Lala (Lalded) 1924
6. A. Shimmel : Mystical Dimensions of Islam, Chapell Hill, 1978.
7. R.C. Zachnev: Hindu & Muslim Mysticism.

Chapter XI

WHITHER KASHMIR ?

Internationalization.

Being consistent with its Kashmir policy adopted by U.S.A. since 1948 in U.N and outside, South Block should not get ruffled by Clinton's remarks in reference to Kashmir in his recent address in the U.N. General Assembly. His comment on J&K is not inadvertment. Since 1971. Simla Accord, the issue remained dormant, but never in its history sicne 1948 it ceased to be an international one. The United Nations has not come to Kashmir, it is already there. The only serious handicap is that in the last few years the persistent diplomatic offensive in Kashmir has begun to find a far bigger audience across the world. On the issue of Kashmir, dangerous curves still be ahead. Mallot's visit and his statement last May in Delhi and MS Robin Raphels recent remarks on the Kashmir imbroglio means that Washington has given up whatever respect it had for the Simla Accord. President Clinton is in search of solution of Kashmir problem and its contours are already before US.

The international chess board since end of the cold war has undergone a sea change. The system of blocks has come to a close, Non-Alignment is not the same force to-day as it used to be previously. The concept of the unipolar power headed by U.S.A. is emerging and gaining strength; present day Russia led by Shaky Yeltsin will have reservations about exercising veto on the Kashmir question in Security Council. The challenge is serious. It is both external and internal. A diplomatic offensive is the need of the hour. New Delhi should be ready to hold talks with Pakistan under Simla Agreement; it must tackle the situation in the valley and be in right earnest to initiate a political process.

National Scenario.

On the national scene the situation is bleak and blear, the Congress and other major political parties are busy in preparations for coming elections in the four states. The Government of India headed by Sh. P.V. Narsimah Rao like his predecessors is lacking perspective and will on the issue in Kashmir. Other centrist Parties - National Front and the left ritualistic-ally reiterate their political line on the Kashmir problem, not forcefully posing the issue before Nation.

Militancy - its future.

Since eruption of militancy gubernatorial office was held by Mr. Jagmohan, known for his sabre rattling, Shri G.C. Saxena-symbolizing stagnation and present Retd. Lt. General Shri K.V. Rao who appears to have succeeded in blunting the edge of militancy. To quote General (Retd) K.V. Krishna Rao "Let me tell you,if we want, we can sort it out in no time, by adopting stern measures, but we are showing patience and forebearance in order to avoid inconvenience to and casualities among the people". Keeping in view the North Eastern Insurgencies, this optimistic note may sound correct, but in Kashmir context there is an element of caution, the peculiar topographical, geo-political position of the State. The recent encirclement, capitualation and even in some cases annihlation compaigns may signify a qualitative change in the militancy but tactics adopted by militants - new techniques sophisticated armour, explosive devices and induction of foreign merceneries and well knit vanguard of Jammat's armed wings, who constitute muscle of armed militancy cannto be under-estimated. There is lack of co-ordination among various outfits except fanatic 'Hizb-Wing'; sagging morale is visible but augumentation by foreign merceneries and spawning militancy in Jammu division - Doda district, still provide oxygen to the limping militant outfits. New Tactical moves to retreat to remote areas, border villages forests are signals to a type of future guerilla warfare with a fundamentalist Kulak base in the rural sector. Infilteration of Lumpens and their anti social actions is not only the subject of discussion among militans but among people-Elite, intelligentsia, traders etc.

Perceptions of People:

Insurgency has passed crucial phase - mass insurgency of whose mainlever was miitant. There is Yawning gap between people and militants. It need not imply that people are prepared or in a position to resist the militancy. People have entered a quietist phase - a state of mind, or policy, that recommends prostrate acceptance of the principal fact - be it power of Gun of militant or of para military forces, be it an over riding power or tactical necessity or whatever. This state of mind is not static but mercurial, with every situation it has variable responses. Any boost to the militancy from any international development on Kashmir induces people to discard the static state and again be active either pro-militancy or anti, even transcend the stage of quietism. It needs constant vigil and apt handling of Psycho-Social responses of people. Right approach to aspirations of people and respect for natural justice is a main gurantee to win over the people, otherwise, alienation will redouble and increase. People in the valley are between process of alienation (with India) and anger (on Pakistan). The later is confined to verbal exposure - and has not stepped in the sphere of action. When and how it enters the phase of action, political process will begin.

Inter-Regional Headaches:

Other serious development is the sphere of inter-regional friction, estrangement and hostility. It has not remained only regional but it is developing into inter communal polarization. In two big regions - Jammat in Kashmir and R.S.S., Shiv Sena in Jammu, though their mass base cannot be ensured but impact of their ideological influence is wide and considerable. Leh and Kargil in Ladakh region are not lagging behind.

Such a situation is a major favourable factor to the sustenance of militancy. It is here that theory of convergence-Hindu and Muslim fundamentalists - (R.S.S. Shiv Sena in Jammu and Jamat in Kashmir) two paralleles meet.

Emerging new trends:

The emergence and organisational expression of over-ground fronts - Hurriyat Confrence, an united Front of various political-cum

militant outfits, Peoples Front and Seminar organised by Kashmir Bar Association entitled the 'self determination' is the only solution to the problem which cannot be minimized. These are straws in the wind. The rationale of such expression is motivated by various factors - attitude of the people towards militancy, the myth of 'invincibility of the Gun is on wane and necessity to present the militancy on the good platter to the international gaze. We should welcome such moves, though abinitio and minimal, dialogue is life and silence is death. Such moves on the part of state Government and Centre will cut much ice towards thaw. There should be debate accross the table on any issue. Such moves are begining of the political process.

Traditional Political Parties:

The traditional parties - National Conference and Congress (I) for the time being are irrelevant to the situation, but their future role cannot be under-estimated. The cadre of these parties is precious. It has stood to the storm of militancy, suffered for their convictions and the only secular muscle in the State.

National Conference is a vital factor in Kashmir for any future nationalist mass mobilization. Congress had never its grass roots or mass base in the valley or in some major muslim belts in the Jammu. Any political process without National Conference in the valley is of no avail. Situation demands total mobilization of all nationalist forces; stakes begin high. Congress (I) leadership is after crumbs of power, its whole existence since its inception has been politics of concessionaire. Their day to day statements reflect 'Beant Singh' type of model' and type of power capturing in Kashmir, but situation in Kashmir is more complex than Punjab.

N.C. leadership is not prepared to march its ranks unto political process unless centre is prepared to spill out quantum of autonamy on the basis of Delhi - Kashmir Accord of 1952, arrived at by mutual agreement between Delhi and S.M. Abdullah. Thus the situation is of stalemate, inertia and organisational paralysis. To fight militancy the fight is two fold - Political and ideological. Through religious propaganda, militants rouse people. Obvious efforts are being made to appeal to youth, students in the name of fundamentalist concepts - 'theodemocracy' irreligious secularism, two nation theory to look for

opportunities to create an artificial divide between religious communities. We have to present the picture of Real Islam - to counter these pernicious distorted concepts of Islam.

Bureaucracy - a lame 'Leviathan'

Militancy can be tamed; state bureaucracy is a monster. It is very much politicized; such a administrative behaviour has paid its enormous dividends in its evoloution in the modern times. Social basis of its administrative culture are determined by its fedual autocratic past. The present social origin and administrative Culture of State Administrative appratus is of 'Kulak' complexion. The sons of 'Kulaks', a post independence breed dominate the state civil service.

This new brand of Civil Service has inherited past structure and reinforced it further. In post militancy phase the political parties have waxed and suffered eclipse. Political leaders have argued and reduced each other to impotence. Men of religion have laid claim to complete authority and have achieved almost none. Menwhile, the State has been run largely by the Civil service backed on the one hand by police and on the other seruptitiously cultivated good will of various militant outfits-a devious nexus evolved for sharing booty - contracts, leases, loans appointments, promotions, transfers and development works, (The recent sensational big scandals of corruption in the administration bear testimony to this fact). The State bureaucracy had now assumed a new kind of role in the State as a force on its own.

In the state, the Government is the biggest employer. The percentage is much higher than in most other States in India. Therefore, how the Government officials discharge their duties assumes great improtance. The Civil Service in the State has assumed the shape of a big 'constitutency'. With the cessation of political functioning it has become the only social base of state, substitution Civil Society, buttering their toast on both sides. Infact under prevailing conditions, the administrative apparatus is not only the concrete form of state power but occupies considerable political space. The net result of such a process are centralizing tendency in the decision making process and wide spread corruption. It is a power centered bureaucracy. The power substitutes to everything including knowledge. The learning capacity of the bureaucracy, not to speak of

unlearning, is literally low. One of the outcome has been the rise of lumpen factor. Kashmir having a chequred historical past, state civil service is highly politicised, since 1947 in particular. The amalgamation of politics and administration has its roots in the 'oriental Despotism. Marx analysing Byzintine state pointed out that administrator develops the ubiquitous fuctotum of civil life, not the servant but the master of all the work.

Militancy in the State of J&K marks a structural break in the political history of Kashmir. The power is firmly in the hands of a "bureaucratic-police oligarchy".

The State bureacracy' model of behaviour and administrative culture is based very much on egoistic pattern, less pragmatic and little sympathetic. The egoistic bureaucrats are rooted in the feudal, medieval legacies. The pragmatic are co-related with capitalistic - industrial development. The Sympathetic - a rare species in the State, are the product of popular movements.

Since the eruption of militancy in the state Society indicates the increasing dependence on the coercive organs like police, para military forces. The increasing role of the coercive apparatus and marginalization of developmental wing suggests that the state is getting back to its primitive role.

The Role of State apparatus is very vital and decisive in the present abnormal situation. The style of discharging duties of Civil Servants assumes great importance. In Kashmir, at the present movement, the administrative apparatus, provided its rises to the occassion and is in a position to provide leadership to and influence the thinking of people. The mere impact of the efforts of the police will not be felt, unless the entire administrative apparatus is fully involved in looking after the welfare of the people.

The civil face of administration should appear more effective in its continuous drive against cancer of corruption. Let us watch How Governor Shri K.V. Rao succeeds in taming and reactivating this important organ of power - State bureaucracy, "a limping Leviathan?.

INDEX

A

A.A.A. Fyzee-40
A.B. Bardhan-97
Abbassite Empire-28
Abdul Fazal-55
Abdullah Al-Manan-65
Abdul Rehman-21,66
Abdul Rehman Al Beruni-93
Abdul Rehman Al Kwarib-14
Abhinava Gupta-1
Abhiras-27
Abraham-98,100
Abu Dhar-Great Islamic thinker-3,16
Abul Kalam Azad-10
Academy of Kashmir Culture-7
Acharya Kirplani-11
A. clow, Sir-57
Adam-38, 102
Adi Shankara-1, 100
Adi Shankaras Philosophy-1, 96
Aditya Mukherji-56
Adivita-Savism-1,2,58, 107
Advaita-4,5
Advaita Vedanta-1,96
Afghan(s)-26,30
Afghanistan-77,80,84,90,91,92
Afro-Asian countries-37,82,83
Afzal Iqbal, Dr.-25,67
Agnosticism-100
Ahad Zargar-109
A. Hassan, Dr.-107
Ahmad Butwari-109
Ahmed Aroua-10
Ahmediya-Lahori Movement-48
AICC (All India Congress Committee)-11
A.J. Sayed-58
Akbar-29,31,112
A.K. Shay Kumar Dutt-45
Al-Afghani-Jamal-ud-din-77,78,79,80,82
Ali Ashraf-46
A.L. Basham-27
Alberuni(s)-26,29,30,54,97
Alexandria-24
Alexandrian School-24
Al-Farali-66
Al-Ghani-110
Al-Ghazzali-98
Al-Hilal-Prominent Paper-80
Aligarh-6,10,48,49,80
Aligarh School of Thought-10,13,15
Ali Shariti, Dr.-66.
Allah-70
Al-Mawaridis-81
Al-Majisti-A book-28
Al-Mungidhmin-al-Dhalal-8
All Muslims-83
Altaf Gohar-13
Al-Urwat-al-Wathqa-78
American-61,82
A.M. Goichon-78
Amils of Sindh-29
Amin-ar-Rhjani-15
Amir Kabir-2
Amir Khusro-29
Ancient Greece-55
Ancient Hellenes-31
Ancient India-69, 70,105
Anglo-American-83
Anglo-Turk-79
Anjuman-i-Hamayat-ul-Islam-10
Arab (s)-10, 14, 15, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 31, 53, 54,

62,65,66,90,93,110.
Arab civilization-62
Arab countries-63
Arab culture-62
Arab East Countries-24
Arab Governer-90
Arabi-5
Arabia-3,24
Arabic-28,40,83,86
Arab Language-23,53
Arab League-90
Arabic Muslim-54
Arab Peninsula-53
Arab World-30,83
Arberry-81
Aristotle-24
Arnold Toynbee-20
Aryan (s)-27,30,33,92
Aryan Home in India-33
Asghar Ali Engineer-37,56, 66, 70,71
Ashoka-54
Asia-2,14,72,84
Asian-72,93
Asiatic Societies-21
Asian Conference (held in Delhi)-93
Asian Religions-47
Aurangzeb-7,8,47,112,113
Auribindo Ghosh-43
Avicema-93
Avicenna-66
Ayodhya-56
Azar-100
Azerbaijan-77,83,85
Aziz Ahmed, Prof.-25,29.

B

Baba Farid-101
Baba Jan Gaffarov-85
Babar-56
Bachistan-91
Badauni-55
Baghdad-28,29
Bahaism-48
Baku-86
Baltic-89
Baluchistan-92
Bandar Abbas-91
Bang-e-Dara – Collection of Poems of Mohd. Iqbal-41
Bangladesh(i) -34,71
Barani-55
Basmachi bands-85
Basmachi Movements-85
Beant Singh-118
Benaras-28
Bengali Muslim-79
Berbers-23,53
Beriut-78
B.F.Skinner-37
B.G. Tilak's Ganapati Festival-32
Bhagwat Gita – Holy Book of Hindus-30
Bhagwat Saran Upadhaya, Dr.-29
Bhakti Movement-58
Bhamani Sultans-26
Bhana-Bhatha's Harsha Carete-55
Bhaybhanjanasarnam-28
Bible-13
Bihar-39
Bilhar's Vikna-Madeva Curita-55
Bipen Chandra-56
Bit-ul-Hakim – Centre for Indian Studies-28
B.J.P. (Bhartiya Janata Party)-101
Bolsheviks-85
Brahma-102
Brahmin-27,29
Brezhanov-87
Brill Laiden-64
Britain-84
British-26,43,53,56,57,78,79,82,85
British Age-55
British Historian-55
British Imperialism-64,82
British Invasion of India-30
British Muslim Nationalist Organisation-10
British Rule In India-21,42
Buddha-105,110
Buddhism-1,5,92,93,97,100,105,107
Buddhist-5,54,69,84,92,108,110
Budhist Fourth Council-1
Buddhistic-54
Buddhist Philosophy-109
Budhist Tibetian Ruler-2

Bud Shah-57
Buinak-86
Bukhara-84,85,92
Bulbul Shah-2
Bunaysk-86
Byzantines-23,53
Byzantium-24

C

Cairo-62
Calefornia Valley-61
Calcutta-42,79
Cambridge-6,79,111
Cambridge University Press-87
Caucasians-23,53
C.E.M. Jodd-31
Central Afghanistan-91
Central Asia-107
Central Asian Republic-77,84,90
Central Asian Scholar-54
Central Islamic Scholar-57
Chaitanya-28,101,106
Charles Issawi-23
Chesti-57,101
Chiiaq Ali-79
China-22,23,24,27,65,74,84
Chinese Order-4,107
Christ-30
Christian (s)-14,33,69,91,100
Christain Era-92
Christianity-30,48,69
Churches-30
Citizen of Iran-29
Club Road, Lahore-25
Classical Islam-50
Colonial India-45
Common wealth-91
Communist-86,88
Communist Manifesto (1848)-73,74
Communist Party-84,89
Congress-12,116
Congress(I)-118
Congress President-11
C. Pandey-56
C.R.Dass-33
Cuba-74
Czarist Prison-85

D

Dadu-28,106
Daghistan-86
Dal Lake-47
Damasceme Ghalyan-110
Damascus-112
Dara-al-Sultanate-79
Dara Shukoh-6,7,8,111,112,113
Dar-ul-Islam-90
Dayanand Sarswati-43
D.D. Kosambi-26,40,58
Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya-27
Delhi-28,115,118
Delhi-Kashmir Accord (1952) – 118
Delhi Sultanate-3
Discovery of India – A book by Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru – 23,24
Dmitir Furman-43
Doda District-116

E

Eastern And Western Culture-20,21
Eastern Culture-22
East Pakistan-34
Egypt-14,54,63,79,100
Egyptian Historian-61
Egyptian Marxit-62
Engles-73,74
English-86
Enver Pasha-85
Europe-27,28,34,42,64,84,91,92
Europea-79
European-82,90
European Culture-42
European Science-42

F

Fani-7,47,48,112
Farista-55
Fasyal Ibn Hussan-15
Fatima Mernessi-71,72
Fatwai-Jhandari – A book by Zia-ud-din Barni-3,56
Faud Pasha-80
F.Engles-74
Firdous Anwar-50

First world war-9,48,84
France-45,84
Francis young husband-56
French Revolution-14
Frunze-55

G

Gabriel-98,99
Ganapati Festival-32
Gandhi-12,56,82
Gandhiji's Ram Rajya-32
Ganga-Jamuni Culture-54
Gaznavi-55
G.C. Saxena-116
Geiger-62
Georgia-91
Georgi Dimitrov-75
German Indologist-54
Ghazalli-8,15,112
Ghuja-tul-Makan – A book by Shah Hamdan-2
Gillan Tet-89
Giri Lal Jain-77
Gita – Holy book of Hindus-93
God Siva-97
Gokalp-81
Gorbuchov-87,89
Gosalla-109
Gosphel-13
Govt. of India-87,93,116
Greece-84
Greek (s)-25,92,100,109
Greek Philosophy-7,24,27, 110,112
Guhyam Brahma-97
Gujaras-27
Gulf-92
Gupta Centuries-105
Gurgari Mohalla-7,47,112
Gutmas-99

H

Hali-79,80
Hambali-112
Hamdard-49
Hasnat-al-Arfin-7
Hazrat Bul-bul Shah-2
Hazrat Mujadid-7,112
Helmand River-91,92
Henery Elliot, Sir-57
Hijaz-80
Hindi Khari boli-29
Hindi-National language of India-29
Hindu(s)-1, 2, 4, 5, 9, 11, 12, 14, 19, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 39, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 53, 54, 55, 57, 61, 64, 69, 97, 99, 101, 102, 105, 106, 109, 117
Hindu Age-55
Hindu Culture-25,34
Hinduism-9,10,22,26,30,38,42,43,48,97, 104
Hindu Kings-26
Hindu Mahasabha-32,57
Hindu Movement Arya Samaj-43
Hindu-Muslim-10, 33,56,58,82,107
Hindu Mysticism-107
Hindu Orthodoxy-43
Hindu Philosophers-54
Hindu Religion-29
Hindu School of Bhakti-4
Hindu Society-27
Hindu Temple-56
Hindustan Times-61,71
Hindutva-30,31,33,57,97
Hinyana-1
History of Kashmir – A book by Dr. Sofi-2
Hizbul-Mujahidin – An Armed wing of Jamat-i-Islami-63,64
Hizb Wing (Hizbul Mujahidin)-116
Hiren Mukherji, Prof.-33
Holy Quran-3,38,39,41
Hamayun Kabir-79
Huns-27
Hurriyat Conference-117
Hyderabad-81

I

Ibn-Arabi-6,97,100,107,110,111
Ibn Hazm-16
Ibn-i-Taimiyya-6,7,108,112
Ibn-Khaldin-66
Ibn-Khaldun – Great Historian & Philosopher of Tunis-23,25,51

Ibn Miskewyia-51
Ibn Rushd-66
Ibn Said-80
Ibn Tufeyl-66
I.K. Gujral-61
Ikhwan-al-Muslimin-63
Imam Ali Hujri-5
Imam Ghazallis-13
Imam Razi-50
India-2, 3, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 40, 42, 44, 48, 49, 53, 55, 56, 61, 63, 64, 69, 77, 83, 84, 87, 92, 93, 96, 97, 106, 117, 119
India-Aryan Languages-27
India Music-29
Indian(s)-21,23,27,31,38,42,56,92,93,105
Indian Civilization-27
Indian Countries-54
Indian Culture-27,29,30
Indian Elite-53
Indian Express-89
Indian History-25,26,53
Indian Institute of Islamic Studies, New Delhi-99
Indian Islam-25
Indian Khilafat Movement-79
Indian Muslim-10,14,48,64, 78, 80, 84
Indian National Congress-81
Indian Philosophy-21
Indian Santas-28
Indian Society-33,42,43
Indian Sub-Continent-64,66
Indian Vedantism-54
Indian world-29
Indo-Arab-54
Indonesia-10
Indus Valley civilization-30
Institute of Islamic culture-25
International Islamic News Agency-83
International Islamic Organisation-83
Iqbal, Dr. – 10, 12, 13, 48, 49, 66, 67, 79, 81, 82, 98, 99, 100
Iqbal's Philosophy-93
Iran-3,10,29,62,65,66,67,77,79,82,84, 85,88,89,90,91,92
Iranian Port of Bandar Abbas-91,92
Iraq-48,54,89
Ishevara-105
Ishtiaq Hussain Oureshi-82
Islam-1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 37, 38, 40, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 64, 65, 66, 67, 70, 71, 72, 79, 80, 81, 83, 85, 86, 87, 90, 93, 99, 104, 107, 108, 109, 119.
Islamic-28,63,64,72,75
Islamic Civilization-23
Islamic Countries-22
Islamic Culture-25,66,
Islamic Development Bank-83
Islamic Empires-31
Islamic 'Sharia'-65
Islamic Solidarity Foundation-83
Islamic Studies-25
Islamic traditions-22
Islamic world-51
Ismail Karimov-89

J

Jagmohan – Ex. Governer of J&K-116
Jainism-97
Jaipur-28
Jaisingh, Maharaja of Jaipur (1743-1800) – 28
Jalal-ud-din Rumi-66
Jamal-ud-din Afghani-66,78
Jamat (Jamat-e-Islami)-116,117
Jamat-ul-Hind-10
Jammat-i-Islami-12,13,14,63,64
Jammu (Division)-11,116,117
J&K-11,75,115,120
Janta Dal – A political Party of India-75
Javed Nama – A book by Iqbal-79,99
Jawahar Lal Nehru, Late-34,58
Jawahar Lal Nehru University, New Delhi-44
Jayalal Koul, Prof.–4,106
Jesus-38
Jewish-30
Jidda-83
Jili-110
Jinah-14,26,33,57
John B. Safervan-110
John Miny Brown-89
Jordan-89

J.ud-din Afghani-14
Judith-Brown-56
Jurists-54

K

Kabir-28,57,101,102,106
Kadi of Yammen-15
Kalhan's Rajtarangni-55
Kamalist-12
K.A. Nicholson-64
Karachi Sea Port – 91,92
Kargil-117
Kashger-92
Kashmir-1,2,3,4,5,6,8,11,12,29,34,38,39, 40,46,48,49,50,57,58,62,63,64,65,66,67, 69,71,72,83,87,92,104,105,106,107, 108,115,116,117,118,120
Kashmir Bar Association-118
Kashmiri-1,4,5,7,9,11,12,16,34,47,107,108, 112
Kashmiri Iqbal-49
Kashmiri Movement-10
Kashmiri Mullas-49
Kashmiri Muslim-71,104
Kashmiri Mysticism-106
Kashmiri Pandit-9,39,49,57
Kashmiri Saint-104
Kashmiri Society-67
Kashmiri Sultans-3
Kashmir Mystic-110
Kashmir's British Residency-85
Katherine II – 85
Kaul's-106
Kawali – A type of group Song introduced by Muslims-29
Kayasthas – A Hindu Caste-29
Kazakh(a)-85,91
Kazakhstan-77,83,86,90,92
Kazan-91
K. Bhattacharya-110
K. Channena-73
Kemalist Revolution-88
Kemalist Turkey-80
Khairul-Majlis – A book by Khaliq Nirmani-6
Khaldoon-3
Khalifa-79,82
Khaliq Nirmani-6,108
Khalil-100
Khalistani-101
Khalistani Militants-69
Khaljis-93
Khasru-Parvez-3
Khatris – A Hindu Caste-29
Khliafat Movement-32
Kh. Muin-ud-din-4,107
Khomani-66
Khursan-54
K.I. Mehndara-99
Kipling-23
K.M. Ashraf-4
K.N. Pannikar, Prof. – 32,44,45,46
Koran-22,98
Kotheri-21
K.Saran-21
Kubravi Order-112
Kughizistan-83,91
Kulak-116,119
Kuliyat – e – Iqbal – Anthology of Poems of Mohd. Iqbal-41
Kum Kum Roy-70
Kum Kum Sangeri-70
Kushans-27,92
K.V. Krishna Rao, Retd. Lt. Gen. (Governer of J&K)-116,120

L

Ladakh-117
Lahore-12,13,65,67,79,80,81
Lahore Session of Muslim League,1940 – 33
Lala Lajpat Rai-33
Lal Ded-4,58,104,106
Lalla-105
Lalla Ded-4,107
Lalladevi-4,106
Leh-117
Lella Dubey-72
Lenin-80,82,84,85
Lenin's Policy-87
Libya-89
Lodhies-93
Loius Dumant-20
London-27,81,96

Lord Wavel-57
Lucknow-32,79
Lufti-62
Lumpens-116
Lutif al Syyid-15

M

Macedan-54
Mahabarata-49
Mahadeva-102
Maharaja Jai Singh – Ruler of Jaipur (1743-1800)-28
Mahasun Fani-7,8,47,112,113
Mahatma Buddha-99
Mahatma Gandhi-58
Mahayana-1
Mahmud Abudh-66
Majlis Ahrrar-10
Mallot-115
Marx-20,32,73,74,99,120
Marxism-97
M.A. Stein-2
Mathura-28
Maulana Abdul Ala Mawdudi-64,66
Maulana Abul Kalam Azad-79,80,82
Maulana Azad-15
Maulana Mawsudi-63
Maulana Mohd. Ali-80,82
Mawali-25
Max Scheler-21
Mecca-15,33,80,83
Medieval Islam-50
Medina-71
Mehdat Pasha-80
M. Habi b, Prof. – 3
Mill-55
Mirza Ghalib-One of the greatest Poet of India-93
Mirza Ghulam Mohd. (1839-1908) -48
Mirza Mohd. Hasan Oatal-29
Miss Mahmuda Ahmed Ali Shah-49
M. Krishnaraj-73
Modern History of Kashmir-47
Modern India-45
Moghal Empire-45,64,113
Moghul-3,4,26,30,31,93
Mohain-7
Mohammad-102
Mohammad Ghazni-26,29
Mohammedan-58,85
Mohd. Iqbal-40
Mohd. Siddiqi-26
Mohd.-ud-din Ibn-Arabi-54
Mohibbul Hassan,Dr.-4,107
Mohiud-din Ahmed-39
Mohmmed of Ghazna-29
Mohsin-112
Mongolia-84
Mongols-84
Monism-5,113
Morocco-83
Mosal-54
Moscow-32,53,80,86
Moses-13
Mosque(s)-30,61
Moulana Showkat Ali-82
Moulvi Abdul Haq-13
Moulvi Abdullah-48
Moulvi Yusuf Shah-49
M.Shvenieradze-32
Mu-Auriyah-90
Mubarak Ali, Dr. – Historian of Pakistan-26
Mudah Ibn Sabbal-15
Mufti-86
Mughal Emperor Akbar-31
Mughal Emperors-26
Mujadidi-99
Mulana Rumi-100
Mulana Shibli Numani-79
Mullaism-47
Mulla Shah-7,48,111,112
Mulla Shah-Qadri-6,8,111,112
Munif-al-Bazaz-15
Musaddas – A book by Hali-79
Musherul Hussain-56
Mushir-I-Qaiser-79
Muslim-3,4,6,8,9,10,11,12,16,19,24,25,26 ,27,28,29,30,31,33,34,38,39,40,44,45, 46,47,49,53,54,55,56,57,61,62,63,64, 65,66,67,69,71,75,79,80,86,87,90,91, 101,102,105,106,107,108,109,110,113 ,117
Muslim Age-55
Muslim Conference,1931 – 8,10

Muslim Culture-19.23,29,34
Muslim History-33
Mustafa Kamai-80
Muslim Kings-27
Muslim Language-30
Muslim Law-33
Muslim League-32
Muslim Nationalism-10
Muslim Rule (In India)-27,29,55,56
Muslim Russia-80
Muslim State-82
Muslim Sultans-26
Muslim Ulemas-46
Muslim Umma-82
Muslim University, Aligarh-6,108
Muslim World-23,25,30,37
Muslim World League-83
Mussalmans-33

N

Nagarjuna (1800) – Budhist Philosopher-1,110
Najib-91,92
Namdeo-101
Nanak -28,57,101
Napolean-14
Naqashbandhi Order-8
National Conference – A political Party of J&K-10,11,34,75,118
National Front-116
Nawshandi-113
Nazi-33
'Nazi Held Reichtag Trial' – A book by Georgi Dimitrov-75
Nazism-64
Nazi Party-62
N.C. Falter-12
Nehru-23,30,31,49,93
Neo-Muslim Conference-11
New Delhi-33,70,115
New Kashmir-75
Neo-Pan-Islamic-83
New York-82
Nicholson, R.A.-6
Nihilism-110
Nilakantha-28
Niyazi Berkes-81
Nizam-a-Mustafa-66
Nizam-ud-din Aulia-101
No. Kozlova-22
Non-Indian Muslim-78
Northern Caucasus-86
North India-27
Nund Rishi-4,58,104,105,106

O

Ottomans-85
Ottoman Sultan-79
Ottoman-Turkey-84
Oxford University Press-24,56,57

P

Pakistan-11,12,13,14,25,26,34,57,63,65, 66,71,75,77,84,88,90,91,115,117
Pakistani-11,77,82
Pakistani Armed Forces-63
Pakistani Movement-64
Pakistani War-63
Palestine-83
Pandits of Kashmir-29
Panini – The greatest Scientist of Sanskrit Grammer-29
Pan-Islamisation-84
Pan-Islamist (s)-85
Pan-Turkik-84,88
Pan-Turkist(s)-85
Paratha Chatterji-30
Pari Mahal (Srinagar, Kashmir)-47
Paris-78
Parsee-30
Patanjali-30,97
Paul R. Brass-87
Peoples Front-118
Persia-5,24,28,29,54,55,84,107
Persian (s) 23, 24,53,86,92
Persian Empires-90
Plato-24
P.L.O. -89
P.N.Bazaz, Pt.-49
P.N. Chopra-54
Premier Book House, Lahore-65
President Clinton-115
Pristine Islam-64

Prithvi Raj-26
Prophet-3,15,38,71,72,90,98,107
Prophet Mohammed-65,70
Prophet of Islam-81
Punjab-34,43,48,118
Puranas-30

Q

Qadyani Movement-48
Quran-13,15,16,40,41,48,65,67,70,71,100 ,101,110
Quranic Concepts-45
Quranic Verses-70

R

Rabat (Morocco)-83
Rabi'ah-al-Basari-101
Radha Krishnan, Dr.-97
Ragas-29
Rahim-57
Rajeev Gandhi-75
Rajir Sen-89
Rajput-57
Rajput Commanders-26
Rajtarangni – A book by Kalhan-55
Rama-57,102
Ramalarahasy-28
Ramananda-28,106
Ramanuja-105
Ram Chanderji – God of Hindus-40
Ram Krishna Param Hans-43,46
Ram Mohan Roy-43,44,45,46
Ram Rajya-32
Ranjan Shah-A budhist Tibetian Ruler-2
Razi-13,15
R. Dahren durf – 73
Rehman Dar-109
'Resurgent Islam' – A book by Asghar Ali Engineer-37
Rishi Order-5,58
Rishis-6,107
R.N. Nandia-105
R.N. Nicholsan, Dr. -96,110
Robin Raphel-115
Rome-24,33,55
Romila Thapar-55,70
R.S.S. (Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh) – 11,101.117
R.S. Sharma-33,55
R. Ulyanovsky, Prof.-9
Rumi-5,97, 98,99, 108,110. 111
Rumi's Philosophy-96
Rushid Pasha-79
Russia-79, 84,85,86,89,115
Russian(s)-84,85,87
Russian Czars-91,92
Russian Revolution-85,88

S

Sadi-101
Safi-al-Husri-15
Saga Publications-72,87
Sage Publications-73
Saivism-1,5,105,106
Saka(S)-27,92
Saka Calander-92
Samarkand-92,93
Sambha-dev-2,57
Samkhya-30
Sam Nun – Chairman of the U.S.A. Armed Services Committee-77
Sangita-Ratanakara – The Great Sanskrit Compendium on music-29
Sankara-96
Sanskrit-28,29,55,58,93
Sanskritization-43
Sardar Patel-11
Sarmad-7,47,112
Sarvapalli Gopal-56
Saudi Arabia-61,62,65,83,89
Savarkar-9,57
Sayed Ahmed Baralvi-64
Sayeds-5
Sayed Wahid-ud-din-98
Sayyida-49
Sayyid Ali Hamadani-2
Sazgiri-Raga-29
Second World War-86
Seva-106
Shah Abdul Latif-106
Shah (i) Hamdan-2,57
Shah Karim-106
Shah Mirza-2
Shah Walliullah-8,64,80,113

Shaiva-105
Shaky Yeltsin-115
Shams Faqir-109
Shams-ud-din Shah-2,3
Shariat, Dr.-66
Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi-7,8, 112
Sheikh Ahmed-113
Sheikh Ala-ud-din Dowhab Samnani-7,112
Sheikh Mohd. Abdullah-49,118
Sheikh Mohd. Abudh-79,80
Sheikh Mohi-ud-din-Ibn-e-Arabi-100
Sheikh Nasir-ud-din Chirag of Delhi-6,108
Sheikh Nasir Qalandhar-109
Sheikh Yuqub Sarfi-7,8,112,113
Shia-14,61
Shibhi Shumayyil-15
Shinkiang-84
Shivaji's Army-26
Shiv Sena-117
Shykn Sardar-al-din-80
Siberia-86, 91
Siberian Tribes-85
Sikh-64,69
Sikhism-69
Simla-32
Simla Accord-115
Simla Agreement-115
Sindh-29,106
Sirhindi-8,112,113
Sir-i-Akbar-7
Sir Syed Ahmad khan-10,15,44,45,46,48
Siva-97
Sofi, Dr.-2
Somanand-1
South Block-115
Soviet-9,83,90
Soviet Central Asian Republic-86
Soviet Govt.-86
Soviet Republics-93
Soviet Union-77,85,90 –91
Soviet Universities-86
Spainiards-23,53
Spengler-23
S.R. Bhat-27,55
S. RadhaKrishnan, Dr.-102
Stainslav Zavadsky-53
Stalin-84,85,86,87
Sudan-89
Sufia-113
Sufi Aliyar-54
Sufi Order-5
Sufism-5,25,28,96, 97, 98,100, 104, 107, 108
Suhawardhy-2
Sultan Abdul Aziz-84
Sultan Ferozshah-29
Sultan Mohmud-80
Sunil Adam-90
Sunni-14
Surs-93
Swami Vivekananda-43,46
Swat-2
Syed Amir Ali Badar-ud-din Tayybji-79
Sayed Hassan Nasr – the well known Iranian Researcher-21
Sayed Muhmud Iqbal-79
Syed Mir Mehdi-86
Syria-54,90,100
Syrians-23,53

T

Tajikistan-28,77,83,88,91,92
Tarjumrul-Ashwaq-6
Tartars-91
Tashkent-86
'The Discovery of India' – A book by Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru-30
The Simla Deputation-32
The Times of India – Daily Newspaper-26,89
Tibet-84
Tilak-9,10,43
Toynbee-16
Tughlakas-93
Tukaram-106
Tulsi-106
Tulsidas-57,101
Tunis-23
Tunisian Khyral-din Pasha-78
Turcik-90
Turkamanistan-77,83
Turkey-12,77,80,81,84,88,89,90,92

Turkish-3,79,81
Turkish Ruler-26
Turkman-23,53
Turko-Afghan-30
Turk(s)-23,27,28,53,78,80,81,84,88,92

U

Ubayd-Ullaha Sindhi-80
Ufa-86
Ujjain-28
Ulmas of Deoband-10
Umayyad-25
Umma Chakravarty-70
U.N. Development-74
U.N. General Assembly-115
United Front-117
United Nations-83,91, 115
United Nations Organisation (UNO)-39
University of Bombay-58
University of Rabat-71
U.P. (Uttar Pradesh)-39
Upnishad(s)-92, 97, 112
Upanishadic-105
Urdu Language-29
Urvashi Dhamija-30
U.S.A. -14,25,115
U.S.S.R.-74
Uzbek-86
Uzbikistan-77,83,89

V

Vaishnuaism-106
Vanvkamer-54
V.C. Naipauls-38
V.D. Savarkar-33
Vedanta-4,43,104,105
Vedanta cum Sufism-46
Vedantic Mysticism-30
Vedantic Philosophy-96
Vedantism-43,100
Vedas-13,33
Vedic Period-70
Vedic Society-70
V. Fedotora-22
Vihara – A Monastry-92
Vishnava-105
Vishnu-97
Vishnuism-1,105

W

Wahadat-ul-Wajud- 58
Wakhan-91
Washington-115
Western Culture-19,23
Westernization-43
Western Philosophers-20
World War, First-9,48,80

Y

Yammen-15
Yayasi-28
Yemen-89
Yusuf-zai Pathan-29

Z

Zain-ul-Abdin, Sultan-3,57
Zaki Hazin Husaybh-15
Zeenat Iman-71
Zia (Zia ul Haq)-14,66,81
Zia Pasha-81
Zia-ud-din Barni-3,56
Zulfi Saparda-29